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ABSTRACT

This collection of papers on the impact of U.S. ideas on New Zealand education range from the personal recollections of New Zealand Fulbright scholars recounting their experiences in the United States to academic papers that explore how innovative approaches towards educational issues in the United States have had an impact on the New Zealand education system. The 28 papers are: (1) "The Further Off from England..." (W. L. Renwick); (2) "American Influences on New Zealand Education, 1840-1945" (Logan Moss); (3) "American Influences on New Zealand Sociology of Education, 1950-1988" (Sue Middleton); (4) "Higher Education for Women: Choice or Chance?" (Ann Keppel); (5) "Margaret Mead: the New Zealand Connection" (Jane Ritchie); (6) "'How They Brought the Good News...': Report on the Survey of New Zealand and American Fulbright Awardees" (Geraldine McDonald); (7) "Bridges or Barriers?: The Role of Schools in Culturally Diverse Societies" (Lily Wong Fillmore); (8) "Compensatory Education, Head Start and Affirmative Action: Implications for Maori Education in New Zealand" (Katie Irwin); (9) "Applied Behavioral Research and the Learning of Literacy Skills" (Ted Glynn); (10) "New Strategies in Education: Teaching Writing" (Vince Catherwood); (11) "The National Writing Project in New Zealand" (Ruie Pritchard); (12) "Review of Current Writing Research and Proposed Developments" (David Philips); (13) "The Influence of the American Public Law on New Zealand Special Education" (Don Brown); (14) "The Role of Multi-disciplinary Assessment Centres in Special Education" (Lottie Thompson); (15) "Support for Mainstreaming" (Christine Hilton-Jones); (16) "Early Intervention: The Relevance of American Practices to the New Zealand Situation" (Helen Stevens); (17) "Educational Administration: Reflections on the Picot Report" (Maurice Gianotti); (18) "The Impact of American Ideas on New Zealand Nursing Education: Part I, "The View from the Journal" (Jocelyn Keith), Part II "Change in New Zealand Nursing Education in the 1970s" (Judith Christensen), Part III "Becoming Part of the Pattern" (Merian Litchfield); (19) "DACUM: Its Influences and Impact on Vocational Education" (Adrienne Burleigh); (20) "The Case of Law" (K. J. Keith); (21) "The Impact of the United

States Ideas on Legal Education in New Zealand" (Marcy McLay); (22) "Beyond the Classroom: American Popular Culture, New Zealand Youth and Moral Panics" (Geoff Lealand); (23) "Broadcasting and the Transfer of Influence: 'Goodbye Auntie Beeb, Hello Uncle Sam'" (Brian Pauling); (24) "American Influences on Museum Education" (Connie Hall); (25) "America's Influence Upon New Zealand" (William Tramposch); (26) "Tar, Museums and Education" (John Yaldwyn); (27) "The Impact of American Ideas on New Zealand's Culture" (George Webby); and (28) "The Impact of American Theory and Ideas on Art Education in New Zealand" (Ray Thorburn). (DB)

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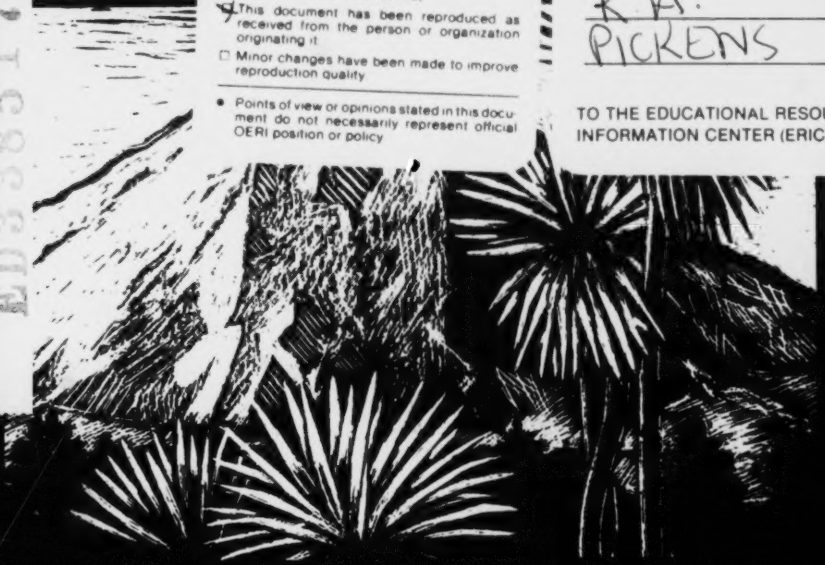

THE IMPACT OF AMERICAN IDEAS ON NEW ZEALAND'S EDUCATIONAL POLICY, PRACTICE AND THINKING

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THE IMPACT OF AMERICAN IDEAS ON NEW ZEALAND'S EDUCATIONAL POLICY, PRACTICE AND THINKING

EDITED BY

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NZ-US EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION
NEW ZEALAND COUNCIL FOR EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

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CONTENTS

Page

Introduction, *David Philips* 5

1 'The Further Off From England...', *W L Renwick* 11

2 American Influences on New Zealand Education 1840-1945, *Logan Moss* 34

3 American Influences on New Zealand Sociology of Education 1950-1988, *Sue Middleton* 50

4 Higher Education for Women: Choice or Chance?, *Ann Keppel* 70

5 Margaret Mead: the New Zealand Connection, *Jane Ritchie* 84

6 'How They Brought the Good News...': Report on the Survey of New Zealand and American Fulbright Awardees, *Geraldine McDonald* 93

7 Bridges or Barriers?: The Role of Schools in Culturally Diverse Societies, *Lily Wong Fillmore* 103

8 Compensatory Education, Head Start and Affirmative Action: Implications for Maori Education in New Zealand, *Kathie Irwin* 121

9 Applied Behavioural Research and the Learning of Literacy Skills, *Ted Glynn* 130

10 New Strategies in Education: Teaching Writing, *Vince Catherwood* 138

11 The National Writing Project in New Zealand, *Ruie Pritchard* 147

12 Review of Current Writing Research and Proposed Developments, *David Philips* 153

13 The Influence of the American Public Law on New Zealand Special Education, *Don Brown* 164

14 The Role of Multi-disciplinary Assessment Centres in Special Education, *Lottie Thomson* 171

15 Support for Mainstreaming, *Christine Hilton-Jones* 179

16 Early Intervention: The Relevance of American Practices to the New Zealand Situation, *Helen Stevens* 184

17 Education Administration: Reflections on the Picot Report, *Maurice Gianotti* 190

18 The Impact of American Ideas on New Zealand Nursing Education:
Part I The View from the Journal, *Jocelyn Keith* 199
Part II Change in New Zealand Nursing Education in the 1970s, *Judith Christensen* 212
Part III Becoming Part of the Pattern, *Merian Litchfield* 219

19 DACUM: Its Influence and Impact on Vocational Education, *Adrienne Burleigh* 226

20 The Case of Law, *K J Keith* 234

21 The Impact of United States Ideas on Legal Education in New Zealand, *Marcy Farden McLay* 262

22 Beyond the Classroom: American Popular Culture, New Zealand Youth and Moral Panics, *Geoff Lealand* 273

23 Broadcasting and the Transfer of Influence: 'Goodbye Auntie Beeb, Hello Uncle Sam', *Brian Pauling* 279

24 American Influences on Museum Education, *Connie Hall* 293

25 America's Influence Upon New Zealand, *William Tramposch* 297

26 Tar, Museums and Education, *John Yaldwyn* 304

27 The Impact of American Ideas on New Zealand's Culture, *George Webby* 312

28 The Impact of American Theory and Ideas on Art Education in New Zealand, *Ray Thorburn* 318

Closing Remarks, *Merimeri Penfold* 331

Closing Remarks: Change Through Education Exchange, *Colin Knight* 334

List of Participants 340

Introduction

David Philips
NZCER

The papers collected here mark the first serious attempt to examine the significant impact of American ideas on New Zealand education. They range from largely personal recollections of Fulbrighters, recounting their experiences as Fulbright scholars in the United States, to academic papers which explore in detail how particular individuals have influenced the shape of education in New Zealand, or how innovative approaches towards educational issues in the United States have had an impact on the New Zealand education system. The account is by no means complete, and doubtless will continue to unravel, with the existing influences becoming even stronger as the world becomes more and more international.

The Fulbright Education Seminar, where these papers were presented, took place at the National Library in Wellington on September 12 and 13, 1988. It was one of three separate conferences held towards the end of 1988 for economists, educators and historians respectively as part of the fortieth anniversary celebrations for the Fulbright programme in New Zealand. The purpose of the two-day meeting was to explore the various contributions American educators and ideas originating in the United States had made to education in New Zealand; hence the theme of the seminar, 'The Impact of American Ideas on New Zealand's Educational Policy, Practice and Thinking'. Participants included two speakers especially invited from the United States, Professor Lily Wong Fillmore (from the University of California, Berkeley) and Professor Ann Keppel (Director of Women's Studies at the University of Hawaii), former New Zealand Fulbrighters (research scholars, exchange teachers, graduate students, professional educators) and others with an interest in educational connections between New Zealand and the United States.

On the first day, Keri Kaa, a member of the Board of the NZ-US Educational Foundation, welcomed participants. After the official opening by the Hon. Margaret Austin on behalf of the Minister of Education, Dr Bill Renwick presented an historical account of the influence of American educators on New Zealand from the late nineteenth century up to the present, a theme which was elaborated subsequently by Logan Moss who also surveyed the origins of textbooks used in courses for training teachers in New Zealand. Dr Sue Middleton covered the last four decades on a related theme, with analyses of lecturers' views of the most significant journals read, origins of degrees, and references cited in the *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies* in order to establish the influences of American sources on lecturers teaching sociology of education courses.

Apart from historical portraits of significant educational ideas and individuals, women in education was another important theme at this seminar. Professor Ann Keppel, for example, gave an enlightening historical account of the emergence of women in American education up to the present, including a discussion of the establishment and importance of women's studies courses in the United States, while Dr Jane Ritchie presented a personal memoir of one of the century's most prominent women and inspirational teachers, Dr Margaret Mead, describing her connections with New Zealand.

Dr Geraldine McDonald reported some of the preliminary results of a research project examining the experiences of New Zealand Fulbright scholars in the United States and American Fulbrighters in New Zealand focussing upon the institutions attended and the reasons offered for attending them. This study is to be published separately as an account of the first 40 years of the Fulbright programme in New Zealand.

Professor Lily Wong Fillmore introduced another significant theme of the seminar in giving an account of the bilingual education programmes operating on the west coast of the United States and showed how children from minority cultures are at risk of losing their mother tongue because of the monolithic nature of the English-orientated education system; she also indicated how successful strategies can be introduced in schools for maintaining the language of the home. On a similar theme, Kathie Irwin discussed the failure of compensatory education, based on the Head Start model, for the Maori in New Zealand.

The language theme, in this instance focussing upon literacy, was continued by Professor Ted Glynn, who summarised a number of studies using Applied Behaviour Analysis to improve children's reading and writing skills, and extended by a panel session covering recent developments in the teaching and learning of writing. Vince Catherwood outlined the origins of the New Zealand Writing Project, Dr Ruie Pritchard presented a brief account of the Writing Projects in the United States from which the New Zealand Writing Project is derived, and David Philips explored research on the teaching and learning of writing in New Zealand schools over the past five years and his recent Fulbright experiences.

The theme of American influence on developments in schools was continued by a panel of speakers on special education. Don Brown outlined some of the implications of recent changes in the law in the United States for categorising children with special needs, a topic expanded by Helen Stevens, Lottie Thomson and Christine Hilton-Jones who also discussed the merits of a multidisciplinary or transdisciplinary approach to the handling of children with special needs. Maurice Gianotti, focussing upon administrators rather than pupils, gave an overview of recent changes in educational administration as advocated by the Picot Report and described how some of this report's recommendations were influenced by American developments.

Another key theme explored at the seminar was American influences on education in relation to various professional and vocational areas. Nursing education, and the move towards a university-based system of training rather than the hospital-based British model, was explored by Jocelyn Keith, describing changes outlined over several decades in New Zealand's major nursing journal; Judith Christensen, who discussed the recent development of courses for educating nurses; and Merian Litchfield. Adrienne Burleigh described the DACUM approach towards the improvement of apprenticeship and trade training in New Zealand, while legal education was discussed both by Sir Kenneth Keith and Marcy Farden McLay, drawing attention to the influence of American textbooks and teaching styles (e.g., the socratic method and the case study approach) on law courses taught in New Zealand, and describing some of the more important historical developments influenced by American ideas which have occurred in New Zealand affecting the training of lawyers.)

Informal education, as distinct from formal, classroom-based education, was another important theme for many of the seminar speakers. For example, Dr Geoff Lealand outlined some of the moral panics engendered in New Zealand over the past 70 years or so, often attributed to the pernicious influence of American popular culture (e.g., films, comics, and fads). Brian Pauling described the media studies course at Christchurch Polytechnic and some of the significant courses he had visited in the United States influencing this polytechnic course. A panel of speakers on museum education was introduced by John Watson. Connie Hall described her experiences in the late 40s when she worked in a large museum in the United States, Dr Bill Tramposch outlined some improvements recommended for the museum education service in New Zealand, followed by Dr John Yaldwyn discussing the relationship between tar-pits and museum exhibits, while James Mack did not deliver a paper but gave a 'performance' using visual display and movement in an original way to create surprise in the audience.

The arts were not ignored. George Webby gave a lively account of his American experiences as a student of theatre and producer of plays, while Dr Ray Thorburn outlined his involvement with the art scene in New York during the late 70s, particularly his meetings with Len Lye, as well as demonstrating some computer graphics (the latest art form?). Both speakers showed how drama and art education in New Zealand have been affected by American influences.

Finally, remarks summing up the main themes of the seminar were provided by Merimeri Penfold reflecting upon her experience as a Maori child and teacher, and Dr Colin Knight in his closing commentary outlined the contribution each speaker had made in accounting for the impact of American ideas on New Zealand education.

All the papers presented at the seminar, with one exception, have been gathered together in this volume. In short, a wide range of speakers and backgrounds in education was represented with contributors from many sectors of the New Zealand education system. All have been touched in some way by their contact with the American education system. Several key themes emerged such as historical influences on New Zealand's educational system, the importance of sensitive language teaching, innovations in the teaching of literacy, changing notions concerning the provision of special education, ways of allowing for the different sets of cultural experiences of those involved in the education system (e.g., women and ethnic minorities), new ways of educating students for the professions, the role of informal education and the arts.

Of course, as many speakers were quick to point out, the influences have not only been one way. Many New Zealanders have made a significant contribution towards aspects of education in the United States, but that story remains virtually untold apart from a few anecdotal accounts.

Visiting the United States as a Fulbrighter is a powerful experience; it is intellectually and emotionally challenging, with lifelong and often intangible effects. Perhaps the greatest influence, and one which most speakers did not elaborate on, is the change in thinking which living for an extended period in the United States has on one's approach to work, or the way one views technology and its relationship to the practice of education. America is a cultural and intellectual powerhouse in ways that New Zealand can never be; it is the centre of the world, and hence a revelation for New Zealanders who have traditionally lived on the periphery of the world in all senses. There is more to see and do in the United States than a dozen Fulbright awards could allow for any one individual; hence the unique opportunity provided by this seminar for previous Fulbrighters to share their experiences, and to reflect on the course of New Zealand education, both in the past and for the future.

The seminar was organised by the New Zealand Council for Educational Research on behalf of the New Zealand-United States Educational Foundation. NZCER staff who were involved in organising the seminar were Dr Geraldine McDonald, Dr Geoff Lealand and David Philips. Trish Hepburn was the administrative secretary for the Seminar and also organised the preparation of the papers for publication. We thank Mobil Oil (New Zealand) Ltd for their financial support and trust that this collection of papers will itself add to the influence of American ideas on New Zealand's educational policy, practice and thinking.

1

'THE FURTHER OFF FROM ENGLAND... '

W L Renwick

I immediately claim the privilege of opening speaker. I shall let loose a few miscellaneous hares and leave it to others to hunt some of them down. For influences, the subject of this conference, have much in common with hares. If you look for them in the late afternoon sunlight you cannot be sure if you are seeing a hare or merely a deceptive feature of the landscape itself.

But if they are not always where you think you might find them, influences are certainly ubiquitous. They can turn up in unexpected places, sometimes long after you might have thought they had vanished from the educational landscape. I had thought, for example, that Abraham Flexner was history. To my surprise, and in Christchurch of all places, that most English of our cities, I found him alive and well during a recent visit to the Christchurch Medical School. I am not treating this recent sighting as evidence of culture-lag, although it is 78 years since Flexner's famous report on medical education in the United States and Canada. There is renewed international interest in the aims and objectives of medical education, and Flexner's is once again a contemporary voice. Professor Alan Clark, Dean of the Christchurch Medical School, regards him as one of his heroes and quoted approvingly from him in his recent midwinter lecture.

Flexner was not the first American educationist whose international influence extended to New Zealand. By 1910, William James was already included among the texts prescribed in the Calendar of the University of New Zealand for its degree courses. His *Textbook in Psychology* was required reading for students of mental science, as was his *Talks to Teachers* for students of education. The other great American pragmatist, John Dewey, had become part of the curriculum by 1920. He was listed in the course on the history of education in a line of succession that went: Comenius, Locke, Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Froebel, Herbart, Spencer, Dewey, and ended with Armstrong, about whom I remain unenlightened. Dewey's *School and Society* was a set book in education courses from 1920 until at least 1950, as were, from time to time, some of his other seminal works, *Democracy and Education* in particular. He remains in philosophy of education courses to this day. But 91 years after the publication of his *Pedagogic Creed*, students are now taught how to critique his work, sometimes using the works of such contemporary American scholars as Michael Katz, Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis as points of departure. Thus, domestic American arguments about aims and objectives have come to have an international importance. Students of education in this country, as in many others, are still directed by their university teachers to read, think about, and write essays on the leading ideas of the thinker who began it.

But how did Dewey become a dominating influence in university courses of study? Not, so far as I am aware, through a direct American connection but indirectly through British teachers. Important among these was James Shelley, who became Professor of Education at Canterbury University College in 1920. As recounted to me by Dr Beeby, who was one of his first students, Dewey was one of Shelley's enthusiasms. More than that, Shelley was a disciple of J. J. Findlay, Professor of Education at Manchester University, who also acknowledged Dewey's importance. And Findlay was the external examiner in education for the University of New

Zealand, a responsibility which required him to set and mark the scripts of all New Zealanders who sat finals papers in education each year. It was probably not, therefore, as an American but as an international figure that Dewey was included in university courses in education. He was legitimised by British university teachers who had already added him to their own pantheon of educational thinkers. In the beginning, it was the imperial connection that mattered.

Outside the grove, Dewey's influence was increasingly controversial in this country. It is the fate of all potent ideas to become unrecognisable in the mouths of those who profess to expound them. By the end of his long life (he died in 1952) Dewey's name, when invoked, was capable of dividing audiences and writers of letters to the correspondence columns of newspapers into supporters and detractors. Interestingly, in terms of my theme, advocates on both sides of the argument would turn to British authorities to bolster their case for or against Dewey.

The influential Hadow Report, for example, which did much to popularise Dewey's views in Britain in the twenties was also influential with educationists and teachers in New Zealand. After the Second World War, too, an equally important Scottish Report on Primary Education provided an authoritative commentary on ideas and approaches which, though not identified as Dewey's, were based on his writings. On occasions when I have mentioned this source of influence to Scottish educationists they have usually been surprised to learn that that Scottish Report had any influence anywhere. In Scotland, apparently, it had dropped stone dead from the printer. That, however, is beside the point. What mattered in New Zealand was the authority of a Scottish Report in the minds of teachers and members of the public whose minds were still shaped by British valuations. Regardless of where they lived or worked, William James and John Dewey were thinkers of international standing. Sooner or later, by some means or another, their writings would have become part of the consciousness of educationists in this country. Within their own country, they were also leaders among the first generation of American scholars to work from within the institutional base of an American university. During Dewey's lifetime the first of the great American graduate schools – Chicago, Columbia, Harvard – went through processes of development which brought them to international pre-eminence in the thirties and in the years immediately after the Second World War. It was not until 1986, when I spent some time in residence at Teachers College, Columbia, that I began to piece together something of the influence of that graduate school on New Zealand education. The fact that the influence has for the most part been indirect does not make it any the less real.

The clue to that influence is the institution of the professional school in American universities. Through it the German tradition of research was joined to the American commitment to practical improvement. During this century all the American professions have developed in association with teaching, research and publication of university teachers. The contrast with Britain is most instructive. Phillip Vernon once remarked that until the end of the Second World War the number of professors of psychology in Britain could be counted on less than the fingers of both hands. In America they were numbered in their hundreds, as were also professors in other social science disciplines. Particularly in the field of education they constituted a critical mass unrivalled in any other country. They taught, researched and wrote books. They joined theory to practice through their work in laboratory schools and other schools affiliated to their university. They formed learned societies and organised conferences where they read papers to each other and promoted the careers of their best graduate students. They founded and edited learned journals which, through their contributors and readers, created communities of professional interest not only in the United States but throughout the English-speaking world.

It obviously helped to be living in a country whose population at the beginning of the century was about 180 million and growing. This was a very big market. It facilitated the institutional links with the great American publishing houses which have become one of the striking features of the American educational industry. Again, to take examples from Teachers College, Columbia, there are the *Teachers College Record*, the *Yearbook on Education*, and *School and Society*, all edited by members of the faculty and all internationally important. And there were numerous textbook series edited or written by members of faculty. There was Paul Monroe's *Cyclopaedia of Education* published by MacMillan between

1910-13, which became a standard international library reference. There were textbooks by Thorndike on educational psychology, Cattell, Jersild, and Childs on child psychology, Lorge on tests and measurements, Ruth Strang on guidance, Gates on remedial reading, Mursell on teaching methods, Leta Hollingworth on gifted children, Kilpatrick on the project method, Rugg on social studies, and Counts on progressive education. All this and Dewey, too, for he had shifted from Chicago to Columbia in 1904. Similar lists could be given for Chicago, California, and some other schools of education during the first half of this century.

The impact on New Zealand can be measured in the calendars of the University of New Zealand and its constituent colleges. The study of education in our university colleges expanded considerably during the 1920s. Stage III papers were introduced for B.A. , education was included in the M. A. prescriptions, and the diploma in education was introduced. The texts prescribed for these new courses were commonly written by Americans. Paul Monroe's *History of Education*, for example, was a set text until the 1940s. A new form of academic colonialism was beginning to emerge. It was essentially a function of the size and differentiation of function of American university schools of education. It was the teachers in these schools much more than academics in the British universities who were pioneering new fields of specialised study and, through their publications, establishing their own authority within them.

The full effects of this many-sided intellectual influence were not felt until after the Second World War, when American texts began to be used as set books in our teachers colleges. When I was a student at Auckland Teachers College in 1947-48 our main texts were *Learning and Teaching* by Hughes and Hughes, a British text, and a *Handbook of Suggestions for Teachers* written by inspectors and advisers in the Ministry of Education, London. When I joined the staff of Wellington Teachers College in 1954, Hughes and Hughes had been replaced by Carleton Washburn's *Living Philosophy of Education* and then, with the publication of Lee Cronbach's *Educational Psychology*, we used it to replace Washburn. Benjamin Spock's *Baby and Child Care* was a set book, and so, too, was Margaret Mead's *Coming of Age in Samoa*. In time, the other colleges followed suit and, by the 1960s, when there were big increases in student enrolments, American texts predominated in all courses in education and professional training in tertiary institutions in this country.

The alliance between American academics and publishers also made itself felt in the day-to-day work of New Zealand classrooms. Standardised tests were a French invention but they took off in the States. Terman's standardisation of Binet's test offered a clinical tool which Dr Beeby began using at Canterbury University College in 1923 and which is still used by clinical psychologists. Group tests of intelligence were given official encouragement here during the 1920s as a means of identifying children's educability and then of classifying them so that their teaching would be efficient. All third formers, for example, who entered secondary school in New Zealand in 1924 were subjected to the Form A of Terman's Group Intelligence Test. The Otis Intelligence Test of Mental Abilities was standardised for New Zealand by NZCER in 1936 and was widely used for the next forty years, as were a number of other standardised tests of American origin.

We were spared, however, the full onslaught of the American educational publishing industry. There were at least three reasons for this. First, the New Zealand ethos of the teacher as professional placed heavy reliance on the teacher preparing his or her own teaching materials. This was reinforced by the authoritative advice and guidance of inspectors and advisers. Second, American school texts were invariably large, detailed and expensive, and, in the absence of copying machines, they had to be bought and used as class sets. And third, no New Zealand state school ever had the sort of money necessary to buy class sets of textbooks even for use in basic subjects. If our schools had not been so impoverished I suspect that they would have been used much more, despite official discouragement. The extent to which Gates Reading Cards, S.R.A. reading laboratories, and other print-based technologies were taken up by New Zealand teachers in the years after the Second World War suggests that there was potential in the market. And when, from time to time, the Department did endorse or adapt textbooks for use in New Zealand schools it was, during the last half century, American texts that were approved. The Janet and John series of infant reading books was based on an American series. In the world-wide rush to revise maths and science curricula after Sputnik it was to American projects and texts that we went first. Houghton Mifflin is the publisher whose mathematics textbooks, modified for New Zealand conditions, are used in our primary schools.

Very little of what I have said so far required direct, personal contact between Americans and New Zealanders and, until the Second World War, there was very little. Maui Pomare may well have been the first New Zealander to study at an American university. He graduated M.D. from Battle Creek, Michigan, in 1899 and returned to a position as health officer in 1900. In 1907, the perennial chancellor of the University of New Zealand, Sir Robert Stout, invited David Starr Jordan, President of Stanford, to visit New Zealand in conjunction with a visit to Australia. His report on methods of teaching in the university colleges supported the views of teachers within the colleges themselves who were pressing for reform. Jordan was the first American educationist to come here whose eminence in his own country was such that his views deserved to be taken seriously. His advice to the Senate of the University of New Zealand attracted more attention than the university reformers had been able to gain unaided. After his visit Stout concluded that America might have more to offer than the old world. Professor Thomas Hunter, Professor of Philosophy and Mental Science at Victoria University College was, so far as I know, the first New Zealand university teacher to study developments in the United States. He visited clinical laboratories there as well as in Europe in 1907, and, on his return, set up the first psychological laboratory in Australia or New Zealand.

Also in 1907, George Hogben, Inspector General, visited the United States during an extended overseas visit. (Habens had made an earlier visit in 1888). It is clear from Hogben's detailed report of his visit to a wide range of educational institutions that, like Stout, he concluded that New Zealand could learn from American education. But what we were to learn influenced the processes of education more than its structures. The one clear case of American influence on the structure of our education system has proved to be the most controversial. In 1921, T. U. Wells, Principal of Richmond Road Primary School, Auckland, and Frank Milner, Rector of Waitaki Boys High School, made an officially sponsored visit to schools in California. On their return, they wrote enthusiastically about the American junior high school movement. C. J. Parr, the Minister of Education, concluded that the development of similar institutions would make possible the earlier introduction of secondary subjects and secondary forms of education, thus providing part of the answer to one of the most pressing policy issues facing him. Kowhai Junior High School was established in Kingsland, Auckland, in 1922.

From early in the century, too, New Zealand academics began to take up appointments in America. In 1907, Professor Richard Cockburn Maclaurin of Victoria University College was appointed a professor at Columbia University, New York, and, next year, became president of Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Te Rangi Hiroa (Sir Peter Buck) joined the staff of the Bishop Museum, Hawaii in 1921 and later became its director. J. B. Condliffe left Canterbury University College for Michigan in 1924 and, from various posts in the States and Europe, kept his intellectual lines open to New Zealand for the rest of his life. The process of expatriation was adding a new dimension.

But for those who stayed, or who returned after study abroad, it was a lean harvest. Dr Beeby has written of the sense of intellectual deprivation he felt as a young university teacher during the 20s. There were only five post-graduate scholarships for overseas study by New Zealand graduates. There was no sabbatical leave for university teachers. University libraries were poor. Even worse, he wrote:

> Scholarly visits to this country were rare; for the most part we met overseas writers only on the spines of books, where almost every scholar is at his best, and we never saw their feet of clay. What's more, the very people who were writing our textbooks were also marking our examination paper.... So we developed an unhealthy sense of reverence for the unchallenged authority of men (no women as I remember) whom most of us would never see. To quote an authority was to win an argument.

That is the background against which the contribution of the Carnegie Corporation of New York is to be assessed. The Carnegie Corporation was one of Andrew Carnegie's acts of philanthropy. He set it up in 1911 so that the initiatives he had earlier made possible within America through his Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching could be made available internationally. It began with a capital endowment of US $200 million and, within a few years, a special fund of US $10 million was earmarked for Canada and the British Dominions and Colonies. The Carnegie Corporation was prevented by its constitution from becoming an operating agency that would provide services through its own staff. Its role was that of the catalyst. Its working methods foreshadowed those widely used by international agencies after the Second World War whose objective was to bring about change.

Its office was in New York and its intellectual roots were in America. But it built up international networks for the transfer of ideas for more effective education and higher levels of professional service. Its work in the United States, for example, has always been directed to the improvement of national standards in education for the professions of medicine, law and teaching at all levels. Earlier I mentioned Abraham Flexner's survey of *Medical Education in the United States and Canada* which he carried out between 1908-1910. It was the first major study undertaken by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Learning. It was done in co-operation with the Council of the American Medical Association. Its aim was to provide an authoritative survey of an important field of professional education and then let its report speak for itself. As Flexner put it: 'When public interest, professional ideas, and sound educational procedures concur in the recommendation of the same policy, the time is surely ripe for decisive action'. Decisive action followed Flexner's report, which exposed the poor state of North American medical education outside a few leading institutions. His report, as we have seen, soon took on the status of an international landmark in medical education.

It was with the intent, therefore, of seeking to promote change in what were considered to be desirable directions that the Carnegie Corporation extended its efforts to New Zealand in the late twenties. A full study of the Carnegie contribution to our educational development has yet to be made, and I am indebted to Dr Beeby's paper for information on its influence. Here as elsewhere, the key to the success of the Carnegie enterprise was the identification of a small number of leading educationists who became the New Zealand advisers to the Carnegie Corporation in New York. Their collective authority ensured the prestige as well as the success of the various initiatives undertaken in the name of the Corporation. James

Shelley, Tommy Hunter, Frank Milner, Duncan Rae and C. E. Beeby were some of the early advisers. The initial contact was made in 1928 when the Corporation sent Dean James Russell, late of Teachers College, Columbia, to New Zealand to assess our needs. Here again we should note, as an aside, the Columbia connection. And, as a footnote to the aside, the Columbia contribution to the seminal NEF Conference held in New Zealand in 1937 should also be recorded. Of the fourteen distinguished educationists who were invited from overseas to be speakers at the conference, four were American professors (one of them a transplanted Englishman), three of them from Teachers College, Columbia.

The Carnegie activities in New Zealand took three main forms. The Corporation supported selected innovations, brought Americans to New Zealand to provide advice, and gave travel grants for leading teachers, researchers, and administrators to undertake study tours in the United States. In countries such as New Zealand, one of its main missions was to break down the effects of isolation. Libraries, museums, and galleries were important in that context and so, too, were extension services that conquered rural isolation. Projects supported during the thirties under these headings initiated developments that continue to this day. The Corporation funded a scheme under which Otago University pioneered extension services in home science for rural Otago, Southland and Canterbury. It funded schemes proposed by Professor Shelley under which travelling libraries, boxes of books and other study materials, and itinerant drama tutors were made available to adult study groups in rural districts. The idea of the travelling library was taken up by the government in 1938 and incorporated in the Country Library Service. Geoffrey Alley was the first director of the Country Library Service and he later became the first National Librarian. He had been one of Shelley's students and the driver of the travelling library in Canterbury. Thus the Carnegie Corporation also influenced careers. Its influence can be seen, too, in the writing of the first and the most important study on rural sociology to be written in this country. Shelley visited the States on a Carnegie award in 1932, discovered the Lynds' *Middletown*, and encouraged Crawford Somerset to write *Littledene*.

The stimulus to education in museums was equally important in its way. American expertise was brought to New Zealand in the person of

Frank Tose, Chief of the Department of Exhibitions of the California Academy of Sciences. He ran courses for museum diorama officers, and introduced the diorama into museum displays. In 1936, the Corporation put up the money to meet half the costs for the appointment of museum education officers in the four main centres, the Government funded the other half, and an important educational service got started. The government took over the full costs in 1942 when the Carnegie grant came to an end and the museum education service became a permanent part of the education system.

These emphases on innovation, training, and specialisation of function were even more marked in Carnegie's assistance to public libraries. There the assistance was not only valuable to the libraries that received it. It was vital to the development of the profession of librarianship in this country. Earlier in the century a number of New Zealand communities owed their library buildings to Carnegie money. In 1934 the Corporation took a step that had much wider implications. One of the Carnegie strategies for raising standards was to undertake authoritative policy reviews in fields of educational or professional interest. In co-operation with its New Zealand advisers, the Corporation arranged for Ralph Munn, a distinguished American librarian from Pittsburgh, to undertake a national survey of our public libraries. This he did in association with John Barr, Librarian of the Auckland Public Library. The Munn-Barr report had a decisive influence on the policies of public libraries. It had been a condition of the earlier Carnegie capital grants that every public library built with Carnegie money was to provide a free service to the public. But only three of the 18 Carnegie libraries were honouring this requirement, and the depression of the thirties made it very difficult for municipal authorities to do so. The Munn-Barr report argued the case for free library services and carried the day. Carnegie support for the fledgeling profession of librarianship was equally important. It gave financial help to the New Zealand Library Association in 1937 which enabled it to get on to a proper footing. It gave study grants to university librarians and public librarians to study library-work in the United States. It had a hand in the establishment of the Library School just after the Second World War. It gave expensive art sets to the National Library, the university colleges, and selected secondary schools. It gave music sets, gramophones and storage cabinets to the teachers colleges, where they could be used for students and also borrowed for use in schools.

Perhaps I can add a personal note here which illustrates what these gifts meant in the education of one New Zealander. When my family shifted to Te Papapa in 1940 I became a member of the Onehunga Carnegie Public Library. The only books in my form II classroom, other than the textbooks in our desks, were in a book case which contained 100 books covered in brown wrapping paper. This was the Carnegie set on loan from the Carnegie Library and was for use by the 400 or so children in the school. Some of my happiest memories of Auckland Teachers College are of Harry Luscombe's music appreciation lectures which brought music alive for me thanks to the splendid Carnegie collection of records.

The revival of Maori arts and crafts which Sir Apirana Ngata was leading in the 1930s also benefited from Carnegie assistance. A series of grants assisted the restoration of whare whakairo and the building of new ones in several places in the North Island. This provided wages for master carvers and tukutuku experts, and fares that enabled carving and weaving students to learn while they worked under their supervision. Included among the houses that were restored or built were the Putiki church, Wanganui, and the Carroll memorial carved meeting house, Wairoa. But the most important was the Waitangi memorial carved meeting house in the Bay of Islands, carved under Sir Apirana's supervision as a gift to the people of New Zealand to mark the centenary of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.

Most of the developments I have listed would have come to New Zealand at some later time if the Carnegie Corporation had not exerted its pioneering influence in the thirties. But one institutional innovation with which it was associated – the New Zealand Council for Educational Research – might never have been established but for Carnegie money. Carnegie had been instrumental in establishing the Scottish Council for Educational Research in 1928 and the Australian Council for Educational Research in 1930. Its initiatives resulted in the establishment of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research in 1934. This was not the beginning of educational research in this country but it was the beginning of professional, full-time educational research. More than that, the new venture enticed C. E. Beeby to leave Christchurch for Wellington to become its first director. Canterbury's loss was to be the nation's gain.

The list of New Zealanders who received Carnegie travel grants includes virtually all the educational leaders of the thirties and forties. University chancellors, vice-chancellors, deans of faculties, scholars and researchers, principals of teachers colleges, museum directors, librarians, and leading secondary school principals make up that list. Included, too, were people whose pioneering efforts are now part of our educational history: James Strachan from Rangiora High School, L. J. Wild from Feilding Agricultural High School, Arnold Campbell, Crawford and Gwen Somerset, Dorothy Neal White, and Helen Deem, to name the most notable.

Other American philanthropic trusts have also left their educational mark on New Zealand and New Zealanders. The Harkness Commonwealth Foundation continues to make prestige awards each year to leading younger New Zealanders who are judged to have the potential to become leaders in public administration, academic life or research. The number of former Harkness Fellows in positions of influence in their chosen fields can be taken as evidence of successful selection processes, or of self-fulfilling prophecies, or of both. Whatever the reason, it is impressive. The Ford Foundation has also funded projects in New Zealand. In the late sixties, for example, it made a five year grant to the New Zealand Institute of International Affairs to enable it to develop and re-direct its work. For a few years, with a backward glance to Huxley's *Brave New World*, members of the Institute divided its life into two periods: Before Ford and After Ford. Without question, however, it was the Carnegie Corporation of New York that made the deepest and most lasting impact. Its influence on our educational development was out of all proportion to the comparatively modest expenditure from Andrew Carnegie's endowment.

Not to be overlooked, either, was the indirect influence of educational developments in the United States itself funded with Carnegie money. One example will make the point. As part of its continuing concern with educational standards, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Learning sponsored research and development on standardised tests of scholastic aptitude and achievement. The Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT), which is still used nationally for college admissions, was an early result.

Then, in 1928, came a new kind of educational test, the multi-choice test item. For anyone engaged in testing large populations of students, candidates, or applicants, its advantages were obvious. Multi-choice questions provided objective information which could be quickly marked and processed. Teamed up with another new invention, the punch-card sorting machine, it produced a revolution not only in testing, examining and marking, but also, through backwash effects, on the sort of knowledge teachers were encouraged to think important and the way they taught it. The crowning achievement of this aspect of the Foundation's work was the establishment in 1947 of the Educational Testing Service in Princeton. The influence of the ETS continues to be felt not only in the United States but in virtually every Western education system where standardised tests have become part of the teacher's expertise. This is not the place to pass judgement on multi-choice questions, or standardised tests, merely to note the influence and acknowledge it as American. Virtually all New Zealand teachers since the Second World War have come under the influence whether or not they have recognised its source.

In the course of this century, then, America has become the major international source of innovation and new forms of educational technology. It has also become a clearing house for the ideas of scholars, researchers and writers from continental Europe. Many of the ideas of writers whose publications were first written in French, German or Italian have become familiar to New Zealanders through American teachers, writers, and publications. Professor Thomas Hunter provides an early illustration. He wanted to inform himself of the practical details of the psychological laboratory that Wundt, the great German psychologist, had established but he was not at all sure that his German would be up to a visit to Leipzig. So in 1907 he went first to Tichener at Cornell who had set up his own laboratory on Wundtian lines before visiting Leipzig and other German universities.

American openness to Europe took on new meanings in the thirties when many German and Jewish scholars of various European nationalities took refuge in America. Erich Fromm and Herbert Marcuse were two writers who, during their exile in the United States, became cult figures in educational circles in New Zealand: Fromm during the forties and fifties with his *Fear of Freedom*, and Marcuse during and after the student uprisings of the late sixties with his *One Dimensional Man* and other books. They were early members of the Frankfurt Institute of Social Research, which has since become internationally famous through the writings of Jurgen Habermas. The Institute shifted from Frankfurt to Columbia University in 1934 and remained there until 1949. Other specialised fields in education and the social sciences were similarly influenced by this diaspora. Wolfgang Kohler and Kurt Lewin of the school of gestalt psychologists brought a direct German challenge to Thorndike with his S-R bonds and J. B. Watson's behaviourism. Jerome Bruner has acknowledged their importance to him in his early attempts to break out of the mindless paradigm that dominated American psychology in the thirties. Sigmund Freud went to London, but many of his followers went to America, particularly to New York, whose intellectual life they greatly influenced. Apart from an important handful of refugees who brought their knowledge of psychoanalysis to New Zealand direct, it was largely from American sources that we began to penetrate the mysteries of Freud, Jung and Adler. So it was, too, with the equally important Max Weber. It was through American translations and commentaries that his works first became accessible to English-speaking readers. These examples underline the larger point that by the end of the Second World War America had become the main intellectual entrepot for the English-speaking world.

After the Second World War, the American political leadership accepted its responsibilities as the super-power of the West. Of the various expressions of this sense of international responsibility, none has been more positive, beneficial and far-reaching than the programme associated with the name of Senator Fulbright. That programme was a novel way of solving the problem of the indebtedness which the countries of the wartime alliance had with the United States under Lend-Lease arrangements. Fulbright successfully argued that, instead of insisting that countries such as New Zealand repay their debts, the United States should establish an international fund for the exchange of American students, teachers and researchers with other friendly countries on a bi-lateral basis. The United States Education Foundation in New Zealand was established in 1948, funded by American money, and administered by a bi-national committee.

This was replaced in 1970 by the New Zealand-United States Educational Foundation, which continues to be bi-national in its management but is funded by both countries. During these forty years the Fulbright programme has been of incalculable value to New Zealand. More than 900 New Zealanders have studied in the United States, and 700 Americans have studied here or made their expertise available to us. It was Fulbright's vision that the programme would strengthen international understanding between peoples. The New Zealand experience is without question testimony to his wisdom.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the Fulbright programme is the way it built on and developed further the approaches that had already been pioneered by the Carnegie Corporation. Because, however, the effective decisions have been made in Wellington, not New York or Washington, and have been the result of discussion around the table by a committee made up of equal numbers of New Zealand and American appointees, it has had the additional benefits of shared decision-making. Emphases on leadership and innovation have continued, but, through its awards to graduate students, the Fulbright programme has enabled hundreds of young New Zealanders and Americans to experience the benefits and pleasures of studying and living in the other country.

A recital of the fields of study undertaken by New Zealand graduate students, scholars, researchers and administrators in the United States emphasises the breadth of the programme. It includes agronomists, anthropologists, architects, chemical scientists, classicists, English scholars, economists, educationists of many descriptions, engineers, foresters, geologists, geographers, geophysicists, historians, lawyers, linguists, mathematicians, media specialists, medical doctors, museum directors, musicians, painters, playwrights, poets, political scientists, psychologists, sociologists, specialists in popular culture, and writers. It includes, too, educational administrators of many descriptions, teachers from different levels of the system, at least one person who subsequently became a highly visible corporate manager, two who, though less visible, now hold important positions in the New Zealand diplomatic service, and the present race relations conciliator.

Two facets of the programme in New Zealand illustrate the American contribution to our cultural and intellectual life. Through cultural studies grants, some outstanding artists and craftspeople have been brought to New Zealand to share their expertise in fields that are becoming important to us. During the eighties we have had extended visits from a glass-blower, a leather-worker, a woodcarver, a woodworker, a metal jewellery worker, a Navajo weaver, a dancer, a teacher of drama, a composer, a conservator, an expert in museum exhibition display, an expert in arts administration, and a specialist in the fine art of attracting greater corporate sponsorship for the arts. In women's studies, too, the programme has been particularly important during the years when women's studies courses have been getting under way in New Zealand universities. There have been visits from Jenrose Felmley, Ann Hill-Beuf, Helen Holmes, Martha Cook, Sandra Myres, Josephine Milburn, and Cecelia Macheski.

The contribution of Americans in other specialised fields has been equally important. To pluck a few names from a long list: Robert J. Havighurst who, with Athol Congalton, developed a scale for the status ranking of occupations in New Zealand (known as the Congalton-Havighurst Scale); David Ausubel, who told us some things about authoritarianism in New Zealand life that we did not want to hear (but in ways, I should add, that made it hard for us to listen); Ned Flanders with his expertise in teacher-student communication in classrooms; Catherine Landreth on early childhood education; Foster Grossnickle on the teaching of mathematics; Richard Wolf on student evaluation; Alan Purves on the assessment of children's written English; Wayne and Agnes Holm on bilingual education; Thomas Linehan on computer graphics; William Tramposch on museum education; Courtney Cazden on bicultural education; and Richard Adler, Richard Young, and Ruie Pritchard on the teaching of the skills of written expression.

Important though the Fulbright programme has been it has not, unlike Carnegie in the thirties, been the only means of personal contact between people working in education in America and New Zealand. Particularly since the early sixties, there has been a great increase in the opportunities for teachers, scholars, researchers and administrators to visit the States or

New Zealand, as the case may be, to make contacts, compare notes, exchange expertise, and to find ways of working together. A glance at the staff lists in our university calendars shows large numbers of higher degrees from American as well as from British, Australian, Canadian and New Zealand universities. Our leading teachers, scholars and researchers have increasing opportunities to meet colleagues from all of these countries in international conferences and in joint projects. The academic communities that are important to them are, in a very real sense, international communities. But in education and the social sciences, American scholars and institutions have played a very large part in giving it that international character. American writers and researchers, further, have, during the last forty years, been very prominent in setting the intellectual agendas for the academic communities in which they play their part. Consider the following names, pulled out of the air by a process of free association, and reflect on their celebrity in their specialist fields: Talcott Parsons, Margaret Mead, Edmund Wilson, Lionel Trilling, Sydney Hook, David Riesman, B. F. Skinner, Noam Chomsky, Benjamin Bloom, C. Wright Mills, J. K. Galbraith, Jerome Bruner, Lawrence Cremin, Christopher Jencks, James Coleman, Daniel Bell, S. M. Lipsett, Nathan Glazer, D. P. Moynahan, Benjamin Spock, Peter Berger, Edward Shils, John Rawls, Clifford Geertz, Herbert Gintis, Samuel Bowles, Michael Katz, Erving Goffman, Erik Erikson, James Conant, Karen Horney, and Carole Gillingham, not to mention Milton Friedman.

Has it simply been the case then, during this century, of the further off from England the nearer it is to America? Well, few things are simple in the realm of ideas and intellectual influences. Certainly, as I have shown, the volume and weight of influence has moved decisively across the Atlantic. Certainly, too, in the process of shifting away from the intellectual dominance of the metropolitan homeland small acts of liberation were also being achieved. We can see this process at work quite early in the century in the correspondence between Tommy Hunter at Victoria University College and Tichener at Cornell. Tichener was an Englishman who migrated to an American university because it gave him the scope to do what his conservative academic colleagues prevented him from doing in England – establish a psychological laboratory where he could do experimental work. Hunter wanted to develop the experimental side of psychology, too, but the straightjacket of external examining, and conservative English trained teachers of his subject in the other New Zealand colleges, made his task frustratingly difficult. So Hunter and Tichener had more in common than their interest in Wundt. They both wanted to be freed from the power of English academics. Tichener was important to Hunter not so much as an authority but also as an exemplar. The example was academic autonomy and how to get it.

But the result was not simply to exchange one hegemony for another. For one thing, as I have suggested, American influences did not become pervasive until after the Second World War. There were in fact, two processes at work and they led to the same conclusion. There was the opening towards America, and, during the same years, there were also increasing opportunities for New Zealanders to discover that the metropolitan homeland itself was the source of not one but of several educational influences. British influences came, in time, to be overshadowed but they were never eclipsed. And as the century unfolded they were by no means all of a piece. In the years between the two world wars British intellectual life diversified, and New Zealanders began to recognise its growing variety from a distance. Then, during the fifties, when airmail editions of *The Times*, the *Guardian Weekly*, and *New Statesman* reached us within a week, we could almost feel part of the debates themselves. A great deal of our liberal and radical thinking from the thirties to the late fifties was shaped by these connections.

A. S. Neill's writings on freedom and inner discipline through education had their devotees in this country. R. H. Tawney may have been as influential on the New Zealand Labour Party as he was on the British. His *Equality* remained seminal for more than a generation. Percy Nunn's *Education: Its Data and First Principles* was, like Dewey's books, a set text in university courses of education until the early 1950s and, in its way, as important. If we took our group tests of intelligence and attainment from America, it was from Spearman and other British psychologists that we took our views on the concept of intelligence itself. Cyril Burt's construction of backwardness informed the work of a generation of teachers, who also used his tests of individual attainment. Susan Isaacs' views on early childhood education were the single most important overseas influence on the work of what we used then to call infant teacher.

As with our links with America, so, too, with Britain, personal influences were strengthened through institutional contacts. The Institute of Education, University of London, has left a bigger mark on New Zealand educationists than any other overseas university. Thanks to the Imperial Relations Trust Fellowship, which makes two awards each year, a steady stream of teachers and administrators have studied at the Institute in mid-career and then returned to positions of leadership here. The Institute opens windows to current developments in Britain but, equally important, because of its cosmopolitan nature, to many other countries of the Commonwealth and of the English-speaking world. It offers a comparative quite as much as a British experience. Its greatest lesson comes from the opportunity to reflect on our own ways of doing things and to discover, or be reminded, that there are many ways of tackling educational issues, none is privileged or intrinsically superior, and we must work out our own answers. Even more than for other countries, the experience of education in Britain can be a journey of self-discovery. The British Council is also important for the opportunities it creates for British and New Zealand educationists to visit each other's country to share their expertise. Its role since the Second World War has been comparable to that of the Carnegie Corporation in the thirties and forties.

In that post-war world our understanding of educational objectives and processes has been greatly enhanced by leading British scholars and researchers. They led the revolution in educational philosophy through the work of Richard Peters and others. A. H. Halsey, Jean Floud, William Taylor and other British sociologists were an important part of the first wave of educational sociology. Basil Bernstein was, I suspect, the first to alert us to the significance of linguistic codes and power relations in the classification, framing and legitimation of knowledge. Richard Hoggart's *Uses of Literacy* paved the way to cultural studies, to be followed by Paul Willis and the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies. Mary Warnock's contributions to the education of disabled people have been significant. Mary Douglas's anthropological insights have been illuminating. Wittgenstein, Popper and Isaiah Berlin have been indispensable in epistemology and social theory, and so, too, have Raymond Williams and E. P. Thompson. Other names could be added.

The opening towards America has thus been accompanied by an opening torwards the imperial motherland itself. In combination, they have enabled New Zealand educationists to free themselves from earlier pieties that produced provincial imitations of the distant homeland. They have helped them to recognise the false consciousness in the pose of trying to be more British than the British, of thinking of New Zealand as the farthest flung outpost of empire, the Britain of the South Seas. These have been essential steps in recognising our own very different condition.

In a world, furthermore, that could be likened to a global village there was more to it than comparisons between British and American influences and ways of doing things. Increasing contact with men and women from an increasing number of countries has given great scope for reflection on the variety of traditions and approaches. Psychologically, we have come a long way from our isolated, dependent condition in the 1920s when, as Dr Beeby remarked, we met overseas authors only on the spines of their books. We now have ample opportunities not only to read them but to meet them, talk to them, and find out what, if anything, they might have to say about issues that are important to us. It is not where they come from, or who they are, but what they contribute to our own concerns that is important. The further off from England the nearer it is to New Zealand.

And in this world of criss-crossing international influences, New Zealanders play a full part, with results out of proportion to our small numbers. This is not the time to talk of New Zealand influences on contemporary American education. But it is no longer anonymous, like the financial contribution a New Zealander made to the building fund for Teachers College, Columbia in the 1890s. Three names in particular have become well-known to many American educationists in our time. Often when I am talking to American educationists, I am asked if I knew Sylvia Ashton Warner, whose writings have a cult following in teacher education programmes in some American institutions. Dame Marie Clay's contribution to the teaching of reading is known and respected, and reading recovery is being taken up in some American school systems. And when I visit the States, or go to international conferences elsewhere, someone usually asks me if I know Beeb. So on the theme of influences let me end by giving one more twist to the Carnegie story in New Zealand. When, in 1948, Dr Beeby was Assistant Director-General for UNESCO and was drawing up proposals for its international efforts in education, it was his experience of Carnegie methods of working that provided the germ of the idea that was to become the basis of UNESCO's world-wide programmes for educational development. What was initially an American influence thus became a significant international influence, mediated by a New Zealander who had himself experienced it.

Influences are indeed ubiquitous. They can have surprising antecedents and unforeseen results. They by no means run one way only, from Britain to New Zealand, from Europe to America, or from America to other countries, including New Zealand. They run uphill as well as down, and in unexpected directions. As I said at the beginning, influences have much in common with hares in a late afternoon landscape.

Note on Sources

My main source in writing this piece is personal experience, reading, and reflection over the years on the subject of overseas influences on New Zealand's educational development. Of particular importance for their bearing on American influences have been conversations with Professor Lawrence A. Cremin, Frederick P. Barnard Professor of Education, and Associate Professor Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, of Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, when I was a Fulbright Senior Research Fellow in the Division of Philosophy, the Social Sciences, and Education at Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, in 1986. My reading of developments in American education is greatly influenced by Lawrence A. Cremin's *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957*, 1961, and the magisterial third volume of his history of American education: *American Education: The Metropolitan Experience, 1876-1980*, 1988. My references to Teachers College, Columbia University, are taken from Lawrence A. Cremin, David A. Shannon, and Mary E. Townshend, *A History of Teachers College*, Columbia University, New York, 1954. For my remarks about the Carnegie Foundation I have drawn on Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, *Private Power for* *the Public Good: A History of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching*, Wesleyan University Press, 1983. (Ellen Condliffe Lagemann's middle name signals a New Zealand connection through her grandfather, J. B. Condliffe). For the activities of the Carnegie Corporation in New Zealand I have profited from discussions with Dr C. E. Beeby and I have plundered his 'The Influence of the Carnegie Corporation', which is published in Malcolm McKinnon (Ed.) *The American Connection: Essays from The Stout Centre Conference*, Wellington, Allen and Unwin/Port Nicholson Press, 1988. Details of the Carnegie Corporation's assistance to the Maori Purposes Board are in the G series in the Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives (AJHR). My references to Professor Thomas A. Hunter are from *The Beginnings of Psychology in New Zealand: A Collection of Historical Documents and Recollections*, compiled and edited by Ross St George, Delta Research Monograph No. 2, Department of Education, Massey University, 1979.

2

AMERICAN INFLUENCES ON NEW ZEALAND EDUCATION 1840 – 1945

Logan Moss

Historians have traced American influences to the earliest days of colonisation (Mackey, 1967). However, views about just what New Zealand could learn from the United States differed widely. For some, such as the editor of the *Southern Cross* it was the evil of a secular education system:

> We ourselves would be the very last to advocate purely secular instruction; such would inevitably bring us down to the faithless, lucre worshipping condition of the United States (Mackey, 1967:89).

For others, such as Tancred, it was the potential of schools to act as a check upon the misuse of democracy and to protect vested interests which caught the imagination:

> There were two marked features in American institutions which distinguished them perhaps above all others... In the first place, they had as their object to give the people supreme power, and, in the second place, to ensure that the exercise of that power should be enlightened and discriminating. They acknowledged and recognised democracy, but they provided safeguards against the misuse of democratic power...The American system without education would be like the play Hamlet without the character of the Prince of Denmark (Parliamentary Debates, 1870: viii, 33-4).

But perhaps the most widespread sentiment was that the age, democratic or not, called for education and America provided the best example of what was needed:

> The school system of America furnishes a model of such a gradation of educational institutions as would seem to meet the requirements of our age and country, and even our home politicians at the present moment are not above taking a lesson upon this subject from Britain's saucy child (Mackey, 1967: 134).

The citing of America as an example for New Zealand was strongly evident during the debates over the 1877 Education Bill. Thus we find Stout and Fox drawing on American practices in support of their view that secondary education is inadequately dealt with by the Bill (Parliamentary Debates, 1877: 228-30). For others, such as Tole, alleged difficulties in enforcing compulsory schooling in some American states constituted ample reason for dispensing with the compulsory clause in the New Zealand Bill (Parliamentary Debates, 1877: 217). Bowen, the mover of the Bill, was prolific in drawing on American sources. His views on funding, secularism and education as a palliative to crime were all supported by examples drawn from America. Indeed his now well known and often quoted comments about the undesirability of future labourers wasting time in schools rather than learning a trade, served to introduce the views of several American authorities on such matters (Parliamentary Debates, 1877: 32-37 & 243-4).

But it was undoubtedly the debate over the Bill's religious clause which provided the strongest incentive for the honourable gentlemen to scramble for their digests of American anecdotes, though they were rather confused over precisely what could be learnt from the United States. For Dr Wallis, member for Auckland City West, a secular system of education was

> ... a novelty in our own times. It is a poisonous mushroom that sprang up only the other day. Nowhere have we had sufficient experience of its effects on society to justify deviating from the old common system of education. It has never been tested in this way to any great extent. It has never been tried in the uncovered nakedness in which it would appear amongst ourselves... (Parliamentary Debates, 1877: 193).

He went on to ask rhetorically, 'Does America give us any experience?' His answer? 'No it does not.' (Parliamentary Debates, 1877:193).

On the other hand Fox, member for Wanganui and a former Premier, drawing on what he claimed were his extensive travels 'over a great part of the United States' disagreed. He felt that the American system was indeed a secular one but that his travels had left him with no impression that 'a loose tone of morality and religion prevailed there' (Parliamentary Debates, 1877: 233). On the contrary, he felt that on the whole the religious and moral sense of Americans was the strongest of any people on earth. In fact, Fox felt that secular education had actually contributed to this state of affairs (Parliamentary Debates, 1877: 234). He compared the situation in Britain quite unfavourably with that in America and concluded his remarks by suggesting:

> I have no doubt that if we had a system of purely secular education we should soon see large strides in New Zealand in the way of Sunday-school work (Parliamentary Debates, 1877: 234).

But for Dr Grace, a member of the Legislative Council, such a view was anathema. Grace held that there was 'some radical social wrong at the bottom of society in America' (Parliamentary Debates, 1877:127). It was his view that this 'radical wrong' was responsible for everything from the Civil War to the 'hoodlums of San Francisco'. Citing the findings of a Mr Brownson, the author of a tract entitled Brownson's Review, and whom Grace called 'a very able writer, and a man of a truly philosophic mind', he claimed that during the previous twenty-five years, 20,000,000 people in the United States had remained unbaptized. As these twenty-five years coincided almost exactly with the period during which secular education had been practised, he felt that one should take seriously the view that 'secular education is at the bottom of that social rottenness – that secular education is the germ from which these evils sprang' (Parliamentary Debates, 1877: 127).

In the final analysis however, American examples served primarily to assist in the scoring of debating points. Whilst American practices and ideas may have influenced perceptions about the place of education in society, there is little in the education system which emerged following the passing of the Bill that one could unambiguously attribute solely to American influences. This, as shall be seen, was the case for the next fifty years.

As Butchers notes (1930: 538), Habens, the first Inspector-General of the newly formed Department of Education, paid a visit to Great Britain, Europe and America early in his term of office. However, all that Butchers adds is that following his return, 'he made a full report upon the boarding-out system' of dealing with children who, in New Zealand, would have come under the Neglected and Criminal Children's Act, 1867 and related Acts. According to Butchers the result 'was the repeal of all existing legislation and the enactment of the Industrial Schools Act, 1882' (Butchers, 1930: 75). As to whether this was a consequence of anything he saw in the United States and indeed on any other aspects of his visit, Butchers remains silent. In fact none of the standard works on the history of New Zealand education seem even to mention it. Indeed a recent publication by the Department of Education, *Highlights in Education*, omits to mention this fact at all, even though it gives prominence to the later visit by Haben's successor, Hogben in 1907. Nor is there discussion of the impact of American ideas on New Zealand at this time. However, Cumming and Cumming (1978: 121) do note that Habens' views on technical education had been influenced by reading about technical education in, among other places, the USA, though it seems that this may have been by way of the Report of the Samuelson Commission on Technical Education, an English document. Until research throws further light on the matter, it is difficult to assess the extent of American influence on the views about the relationship between school and society held by those within the Department of Education during its first twenty years.

Habens died in 1899 and was succeeded by George Hogben. Among the many things for which he is now remembered, was the revision of the primary school syllabus in 1904. Many elements of the revised syllabus, in particular its emphasis on adaptability, hint at the possibility of American influences, though such ideas could have been derived from any number of quarters. In the absence of a systematic study of the influences on Hogben, any attention on his part to American ideas can be suggested only as a possibility. It is possible, however, to be far more specific about other aspects of American influence on Hogben.

Like his predecessor, Hogben also visited the United States. About his visit and its influences, much more has been written than is the case for Habens. Hogben left New Zealand early in 1907 and during the year visited Italy, Britain, France, Switzerland, Germany, Holland, Canada and the United States. In the last named he visited schools and educational institutions in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington and

Chicago. Following the trip Hogben presented a detailed report to Parliament. Hogben's biographer, Roth (1952: 123-4) has noted that he refused to name the most 'pre-eminent country in education', but that clearly he felt that the Swiss had most to teach New Zealand:

> It does not follow that we have not much to learn from the thoroughness of the average German teacher, or the excellence of the best schools in Great Britain, or from the high ideals and the intensely practical outlook of the leaders of education in America. But we may have more to learn from one of the smaller countries such as Switzerland, where many of the conditions are so like our own, where the teaching is so thorough, the ideals are as high, and the practical adaptation of education to the needs of life are as great as in any other country, and where there is practically a complete national system, consistently and successfully carried out (AJHR, 1908 E15: 2).

However, it is the American influence which concerns us here and Hogben was clearly impressed by what he saw though on the second page of his report, he expressed reservations about America's lack of a national system and the scantiness of 'trade-training for the great mass of the women', however he seems to have been more than favourably impressed by what trade training he did see (AJHR, 1908 E15: passim). So taken was Hogben by much of what he saw in America that over half of his report was devoted to that part of his trip. Among other things, he drew attention to the lack of examination pressures, the extent and nature of secondary schooling, the manner of developing order and discipline which he felt to be particularly democratic, the standard of the majority of American universities as compared with New Zealand's, and provisions for special education and technical and manual training, in particular domestic science (AJHR, 1908 E15: passim). He also spent much time in his report discussing the developments at both Teachers College, Columbia and Chicago University. This is interesting when one considers the subsequent impact of the work then being done at these institutions.

Despite Hogben's strongly held view that New Zealand had much to learn from the United States, apart from some provision for special education (and this not fully implemented until after his retirement) very little tangible change seems to have resulted from his visit. However, as Roth has pointed out, this may have been a reflection of the changed political mood of the country. Thus, whilst it is possible again to point to an awareness of

American ideas, it is less easy to find examples of these ideas affecting educational practices in any widespread or systematic manner. But there was one aspect of Hogben's report which seems to have been almost prophetic, that was his admiration for what he called the 'American ideal of "social efficiency"'. (AJHR, 1908 E15: 3) While nowhere did he make this totally explicit, a belief in the desirability of social efficiency, a view which today might be called meritocratic, is implicit in all that he recommends as worthy of emulation.

The basic tenet of the ideal of social efficiency is that societies operate most effectively when individuals are properly allocated to the roles they perform in society. Most commonly the appropriate basis of that allocation is held to be the natural endowment of the individual. Under such a view one of the principal tasks of the school consists of sorting out and allocating individuals to the social roles for which they are best fitted.[1] It is important to note the association with both progressivism and the 'scientific' movement in psychology.

The concern for efficiency which McKenzie has recently suggested was characteristic of New Zealand educational debate in the 1920s (McKenzie, 1988: 82), was associated with an increased willingness to experiment with American educational practices. The introduction to New Zealand of junior high schools (later intermediate schools) and mental testing are both instances of this. Each will be addressed in turn.

The first use of mass mental testing in New Zealand schools occurred on February 29, 1924, when Form A of the Terman Group Test was administered to all entrants to New Zealand secondary schools. McKenzie has recently discussed this first 'experiment' (McKenzie, 1988) and both Faulds and Shuker have discussed in more general terms the use of mental tests in New Zealand during the 1920s (Faulds, 1988; Shuker, 1987). All three have commented on the concern for social efficiency associated with the initial use of mass intelligence testing in New Zealand. Whilst intelligence testing undoubtedly had its New Zealand enthusiasts in the 1920s, its acceptance at that stage was far from widespread. As McKenzie observes 'the New Zealand public was not going to accept school and course allocation on the basis of some new fangled test' (McKenzie, 1988: 87).

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1. See for instance Callahan (1962), Krug (1964) or Kleibard (1986).

Perhaps as compelling a reason for the lack of enthusiasm was the unpreparedness of teachers who by and large had not then come to accept the assumption upon which the practice rested.

Junior high schools first appeared in New Zealand in 1922 and while in practice they quickly diverged from the initial model, that initial model had been forged in the United States. In his 1938 book on intermediate schools, Beeby states this quite explicitly; 'Even greater [than the English] was the influence of the American junior high school' (Beeby, 1938: 40). Indeed the decision to establish such schools followed studies of American junior high schools made by Milner and Wells at the request of the Minister. Their reports were presented to Parliament in 1921 and 1922 respectively (Watson, 1964: 34). Furthermore, as Campbell noted in Educating New Zealand, the Minister, Sir James Parr, was himself an enthusiast of the American junior high school (Campbell, 1941: 140). As noted above, divergence from the American model occurred relatively rapidly. In part that was probably due to adaptations to New Zealand conditions. However, as with mental testing, the newness of the ideas which had moved policy makers to initiate the changes and the unfamiliarity of these ideas to most teachers, were at least as important. The subsequent exposure of teachers to these ideas will be discussed below.

It is clear from Beeby's 1938 book on intermediate schools that social efficiency was always a consideration with such schools but views on how that was to be attained differed. Initially advocates of a junior high system saw it promoting earlier specialization:

> The curriculum has a more vocational or practical bent than that of the secondary school, and is intended to give a more complete training for industry and commerce (Beeby, 1938: 41).

However, this view was to give way to another which, to use Beeby's term, emphasized 'exploration', (Beeby, 1938: 41 & passim) though if the importance of social efficiency is accepted, such terminology is clearly misleading. For this shift is perhaps better regarded as exemplifying a fuller expression of the educational doctrines which had developed alongside the ideal of social efficiency and which called for schools to allocate individuals according to their 'natural' abilities and aptitudes. The comments on intermediate schools made over a decade later by the then Minister of Education, Masters, illustrate this shift:

> The aim of the intermediate school is to remove pupils at the age of eleven or twelve from the environment of the primary school and place them in separate schools or in departments attached to post-primary schools where they will be given the opportunity of displaying their natural aptitudes, inclinations and interests, and of indicating whether they should continue their education at a secondary school for academic or professional courses, or at a technical school for vocational courses in industry, commerce or the domestic arts (Beeby, 1938: 42).

The role of the school in selection and allocation to social roles is clear. If the link with the United States is beginning to appear rather tenuous, then one must recall the other major educational import of the time, mental testing. Faulds (1988) has discussed extensively the relationship between the intermediate school and testing. Her work makes it clear that much of the rationale for such schools rested upon a paradigm to which mental testing was central.

In the period up to the Second World War, the greatest impetus for bringing American ideas to the attention of New Zealand educationalists came from the Carnegie Corporation of New York. Its impact has been discussed by one of those most involved, that self styled 'living educational fossil', Dr Beeby (1988: 38). Arguably the greatest effect of the various Carnegie-funded initiatives was the establishment of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research in 1934. It is necessary to add a cautionary note here, for it is often tempting to see organisations such as NZCER as simple conduits through which ideas from beyond our shores flow into New Zealand in unmodified form. In general nothing could be further from the truth. The NZCER has done more than probably any other single organisation to foster and develop an indigenous tradition of educational research in New Zealand. But whilst indigenous, the research has been far from xenophobic, with the result that since the Council's inception, New Zealand educators have been continuously exposed to a variety of influences from overseas, including the United States. Space permits only one example and, as we are concerned with American influences, the example chosen is one which highlights that influence. But it is an example that illustrates well that those influences don't reach these shores solely by crossing the Pacific.

One of the tasks the newly formed Council set for itself was the publication of research. This was a significant development, for up until this time there was very little possibility of local research finding a publisher. Amongst the first works it published was a work in rural sociology, *Littledene* by H. C. D. Somerset, and whilst this work was a study of a peculiarly New Zealand phenomenon, a Canterbury rural town, it clearly drew much of its inspiration from an American source, the Lynds' *Middletown*. As Beeby has observed (Beeby, xvi) *Middletown* was instrumental in giving a new direction to American sociology. In its own way, Somerset's book had an equally profound effect in New Zealand. But rather than giving New Zealand sociology a new direction, it provided a foundation for New Zealand sociology or at least it drew attention to the place of sociology in understanding New Zealand society and in particular the school. It was to be used as a text in education courses in the university until well into the 1950s. One further observation needs to be made about this book, for whilst the influence of the Lynds' work has been noted, their work had been drawn to Somerset's attention by James Shelley, the Professor of Education at Canterbury and an Englishman. As will be shown shortly, the importation of American ideas by way of Great Britain has been extensive.

Apart from the NZCER, the Carnegie Corporation also provided grants for a number of senior educators and educational administrators to make study trips to the United States. The effects of these trips on subsequent educational policy and practice in New Zealand still await study.

However, all of the foregoing focuses solely on the influences which may have affected those occupying senior positions in the New Zealand education system. But what of those at the proverbial chalk face? What influence did America have on teachers' ideas and practices? What did they conceive to be the relationship between school and society? That is a far more difficult question to answer. Certainly to provide anything approaching a comprehensive answer for the period prior to the Second World War would be difficult. Even supposing that the written materials to which one would need access, teachers' work plans, school schemes, etc., were not mouldering at the bottom of rubbish dumps, few of the teachers, the youngest of whom would now be in their early seventies, would be available any longer to act as informants!

In the absence of that information, all that can be done here is to look at the text-books prescribed for teachers in training. This data is probably skewed as teachers' college texts have not been included due to the incompleteness of records of texts used in those institutions.[2] Universities, however, tended to list the text-books in their calendars and it is from there that the data were obtained. However, it would not have been unusual for trainee teachers, particularly primary trainees, to be enrolled in at least first year education courses, and often second year courses at university.

Prior to the Second World War, the various disciplines which would now be recognised as contributing to the study of education were far less differentiated than today. It is not at all unusual to find systematic discussions of the relationship between school and society in books which deal primarily with material which today would be regarded as psychological. In the years following the war, discussions of the relationship between school and society increasingly became the province of the sociology of education, at least in academic contexts. This shift is reflected in the following discussion.

Table 1 shows that there was a strong American presence amongst the texts prescribed. If we consider only stage one and diploma courses, i. e., those which were most likely to be taken by teachers, then clearly the majority of texts were from North America. However, examination of them shows that country of origin is not the sole indicator of American influence. Sandiford, the author of two of the books on the list, had an MSc from Manchester and taught in Canada, but also held a PhD from Columbia and the dedication in his *The Mental and Physical Life of School Children* reads 'To my former teacher Edward L. Thorndyke this book is gratefully inscribed'. The book itself draws very heavily on American ideas.

Even the British books on the list are strongly influenced by American studies.[3] In his *Experimental Education*, Rusk cites and identifies 270 separate articles. Of these 45 percent are by Americans, 35 percent by Britons, 12 percent by Germans and 8 percent from other countries or impossible

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2. To be more accurate, following unsuccessful searches for such material at both Auckland and Dunedin Teachers' College the exercise was abandoned.
3. The education lecturers throughout this period had received their academic education almost exclusively in New Zealand, Britain or other countries of the then Empire. Americans and American qualifications are noticeably absent amongst the staff of education departments at this time.

TABLE ONE
THE TOP TWENTY EDUCATION TEXTS 1907-45

Author & Title	Country	Year first set.	Year last set.	Total No. of courses for which book was set.	No. of first year courses for which book book was set.	No. of first year & diploma courses for which book was set.
Nunn – *Education: Its Data and First Principles*	UK	1921	1945*	106	73	86
Smith – *An Introduction to Educational Sociology*	U.K.	1923	1945*	94	68	72
Findlay – *The School*	U.K.	1916	1945*	73	69	73
Sandiford – *The Mental and Physical Life of School Children*	Canada	1914	1940	67	62	67
Monroe – *A Brief Course in the History of Education* †	U.S.	1910	1945*	66	4	48
Dewey – *Democracy and Education*	U.K.	1920	1945*	61	9	9
Rusk – *Experimental Education*	U.K.	1921	1942	60	0	29
Ballard – *Mental Tests*	U.K.	1927	1945*	56	0	36
Henderson – *Textbook on the Principles of Education*	U.S.	1914	1945*	54	34	43
Freeman – *Schools of Hellas*	U.K.	1922	1945*	52	0	24
Lowes – Dickensen – *The Great View of Life*	U.K.	1930	1945*	51	0	0
Terman – *Hygiene of the School Child*	U.S.	1923	1945*	48	44	48
Raymont – *Principles of Education*	U.K.	1907	1945*	47	4	45
Tiegs and Crawford – *Statistics for Teachers*	U.S.	1936	1945*	41	0	18
Sandiford – *Educational Psychology*	Canada	1929	1945*	35	7	8
Adams – *Evaluation of Educational Theory*	U.K.	1913	1945*	32	3	3
Thomson – *A Modern Philosophy of Education*	U.K.	1931	1945*	29	10	10
Findlay – *Foundations of Education*	U.K.	1927	1940	27	0	12
James – *Talks to Referees*	U.S.	1907	1929	25	25	25
Quick – *Essays on Educational Reform*	U.K.	1907	1945*	24	18	18

*Indicates that this book was still in use in 1945 and may have continued after this date.
†For the purposes of this table this book and a longer version of it *Textbook in the History of Education* have been counted as a single volume.

to identify. Even those books not citing research so extensively clearly show the influence of American ideas. This is certainly the case with Ballard's book *Mental Tests*, which, with its companion volume *Group Tests of Intelligence* did much to popularize mental testing amongst educators. It is also true of Nunn's *Education: Its Data and First Principles* and

Findlay's *The School* though in not quite so straightforward a manner. In both books the treatment of the child shows clear affinities with the ideas of American progressives, some of whom are enthusiastically cited. The influence of Nunn's book in spreading that combination of educational doctrines commonly referred to as 'the new education' has been commented on extensively, for instance by Hearnshaw (1964, passim) and Simon (1978, passim). While Curtis and Boultwood (1962: 252) have claimed that it was through the efforts of both Nunn and Findlay 'that teachers and students were made intelligently aware of Dewey's ideas, and that Dewey himself was welcomed as a lecturer in this country [Britain]'. Findlay himself has been described by Selleck as Dewey's 'most important interpreter' in England (Selleck, 1968: 208).

Thomson was quite explicit in acknowledging that his *A Modern Philosophy of Education* had been subject to American influences. In the Preface we read:

> The writing of this book, begun on an island holiday on Martha's Vineyard in the New World, and completed four years later on another island holiday on the Ultima Thule of the Old, has occupied a period of my life when circumstances have caused a widening of my views of education. At its commencement I was visiting Professor in the Department of Educational Psychology of Teacher's College, Columbia University, New York City... The rapid changes from England to America, back to England and then to Scotland, were well calculated to shake up any preconceived notions I might have possessed... (Thomson, 1929: 7).

A dominant theme in many of these texts is the one noted above, social efficiency. Put simply, the books inform their readers that the school has an important role to play in achieving an efficient and orderly society. Terman's concern with social efficiency is widely known and it should come as no surprise to find it throughout his book, but it is by no means restricted to that volume.

Sandiford's *The Mental and Physical Life of School Children* opens with a chapter entitled 'Heredity and Environment'. The conclusion which is drawn from the discussion of this topic is the need for schools to promote social efficiency:

> A much more subtle analysis of the capacities of children is needed in schools in order to prevent the waste of much valuable time and effort (Sandiford, 1928: 25).

Presumably this also involves the school in sorting out children on a racial basis, for the preceding paragraph contains the following observation:

> But it must be remembered small racial differences have profound social significance. A slight mental superiority makes a ruling and dominating race: a slight inferiority may, and does, condemn a whole race to be 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' (Sandiford, 1928: 25).

Sandiford also discusses the need for regular medical inspection of school children and amongst the reasons advanced is that 'disease and defect', apart from meaning 'suffering and incapacity', also lead to 'inefficiency' (Sandiford, 1928: 67).

Nor is this concern restricted to books whose subject matter we would today call psychology. The first experience of sociology which most New Zealand education students of the time had, was probably via Smith's *An Introduction to Educational Sociology*. The sociology found within its covers was very different from what passes by that name today. Virtually ignoring everything but American material, it most closely resembles a civics textbook and much of it seems concerned to do little more than convince the reader of the virtues inherent in American forms of social organisation. Throughout, the view that sociology points to the need for social efficiency is strenously advanced:

> The individual is not the only end. Society must form another. The individual must not only be personally efficient; he must be socially efficient... Education must train the individual for membership in the family, the State, the Church, the club, and the business world no less than make him an effective thinker and athlete (Smith, 1917: 13).

Even the history text on the list promoted this view. Monroe's *A Brief Course in the History of Education* traverses all of western history (and by using a typology of human societies derived directly from Morgan, the history of much else as well), to arrive at the conclusion that education,

> . . . is the process of conforming the individual to the given social standard or type in such a manner that his inherent capacities are developed, his greatest usefulness and happiness obtained, and, at the same time, the highest welfare of society is conserved (Monroe, 1907: 406-7).

Advanced almost as strongly as the concern for social efficiency is the closely related view that all future educational developments must be based on a solid foundation of scientific research. The conclusion to Rusk's *Experimental Education* provides an excellent example but because of the dictates of space, it must serve as the sole example. Beginning with quotations from two others, Binet and Swift (the latter a psychologist he cites extensively earlier in the book and an American) he writes:

> We have now reached a point in educational enlightenment where opposition to the scientific method must be frankly pronounced a prejudice [Swift].
>
> The essential thing is for all the world to understand that empiricism has had its day, and that methods of scientific precision must be introduced into all educational work [Binet].
>
> The multiplication of quotations in this strain would not increase the force of the argument. The day is past when it is possible for teachers to accept unquestioned and act on generalisations derived from an unanalysed experience. The aspirations of Pestalozzi and others after a scientific method are now coming to be realised; and the instruments are being fashioned which, when applied, will place the science of education on a sure basis (Rusk, 1934: 333).

Thus as another American export, Darth Vader, was to tell a later generation, 'the force was strong'. But whether that force ended up being with the students who had to read these books, is another matter altogether as will be readily appreciated by any who have ever prescribed a text and taught a course.

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3

AMERICAN INFLUENCES ON NEW ZEALAND SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION 1950-1988[1]

Sue Middleton

This paper reviews some American influences on the sociology of New Zealand education since 1950. The growth of the subject has been characterised by an attempt both to develop something 'organic' to local conditions and to emulate what was perceived as the 'best' of overseas (more specifically 'western') trends. Overseas influences have reached us both directly and indirectly. Direct American influence has come about through the appointment, or visits here, of American sociologists and through New Zealanders travelling to the United States. The first part of this paper draws on data from university calendars to study relative influence of various countries as sources of academic qualifications of New Zealand university education department teaching staff. The second part of the paper explores some more indirect American influences. In this, it draws on three main sources of data; the textbooks prescribed in university sociology of education courses; a content analysis of all 'sociological' articles published in the *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies* since its inception in 1966; and material gathered by means of a questionnaire which was distributed to all those who currently teach sociological courses in New Zealand university departments of education. The analysis is organised according to the various theoretical discourses which have in turn come to dominate the sociology of education in this country over the period concerned.

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[1] This paper is a revision of what was originally the second section of a longer paper written with Logan Moss. Logan's work (the first part of the original paper) appears as an earlier chapter in this volume. Although the primary research cited in this chapter is my own, any of the ideas in it, and planning for it, were discussed with Logan and I wish to acknowledge his contribution.

The themes, methods and applications of research and teaching in the sociology of education, like those of the other social sciences, are both constitutive of, and constituted by, the political and wider social concerns of their time and place. As Giddens (1983; p. 3) expressed it, 'logical, methodological and substantive problems are closely bound up with one another. These issues can be related directly to the concrete analysis of transformation in society. Since the 1950s, New Zealand sociology of education, like its counterparts in Britain and North America, has undergone several paradigmatic shifts as, respectively, liberal/progressivism, 'scientific' (or technocratic) functionalism, interpretive/phenomenological perspectives and, most recently, Marxism, have gained ascendency. Each of these sociological discourses should itself be studied sociologically – from within the socio-historical setting which has generated it. We need, in brief, a sociology of the sociology of education. This paper suggests some directions and poses questions for such future inquiries.

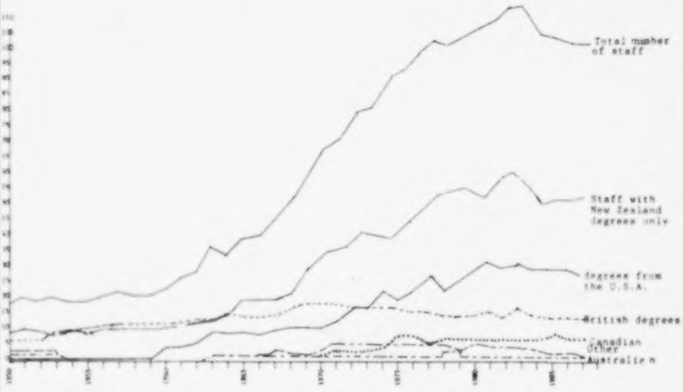
SOURCES OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION STAFF QUALIFICATIONS

The decades since the war have seen the emergence of the disciplinary specialist within education departments; the educational psychologist, the educational historian, the educational philosopher and the educational sociologist. Crawford Somerset, author of *Littledene*, still prescribed as a text in the post-war years, described himself as 'one of the last general practitioners' (Beeby, 1973; p. xvii). Until the late 1960s, sociology of education was taught as a separate subject only at Masters level. However, specifically sociological texts were also often prescribed as components of introductory courses in 'educational theory' or 'school and society'. Sociological concepts no doubt also influenced other courses, such as those in 'comparative education' or 'New Zealand education'. However the figures cited here pertain to all education department staff, since, on the basis of calendar entries alone, it is not possible to isolate the sociologists.

After World War Two, the number of baby-boom pupils put increasing pressure on schools and universities. The resulting teacher-shortage led to concerted recruitment campaigns and accelerated expansion of teachers colleges and university departments of education. In 1950 the total number of teaching staff in New Zealand's four university education departments was seventeen; in 1960 it was twenty-two; by 1970 there were six departments, employing 67 teaching staff; by 1980 they employed 107 (Fig. 1).

FIG. 1

NUMBERS OF TEACHING STAFF EMPLOYED IN EDUCATION DEPARTMENTS IN NEW ZEALAND UNIVERSITIES 1950-1987. TOTAL NUMBERS AND COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN OF THEIR DEGREES.



(Information drawn from lists of academic staff in university calendars)

During the four decades since the war, the proportion of education department staff with New Zealand-only degrees has remained reasonably constant and since the late 1960s has remained around 50 percent. Although the proportions of those with overseas degrees have not changed dramatically over the years, there has been a marked change in the sources of overseas qualifications. Until 1972 Britain was the main source of higher degrees, but by 1972 there were equal numbers of British and American degrees. By 1987 the proportion with British degrees had declined from over half in the late 1950s to 13 percent, while the proportion with American degrees had climbed steadily from zero to 25 percent (Fig. 2). The majority of those with overseas qualifications are not 'foreigners', but New Zealanders who have travelled overseas to gain advanced qualifications.[2]

OVERSEAS INFLUENCES IN THE DISCOURSES OF NEW ZEALAND SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION

The 1950s were a time of optimism in education, which, like economic prosperity, seemed bent on a course of infinite expansion. Imbued with the progressive ideas of post-war reconstructionism, New Zealand's Thomas Report promised schooling which would be a bastion against the resurgence of fascism:

> The human values we sum up in the word 'democracy' have been too much taken for granted. They are threatened from without, and only active effort and unceasing vigilance can make them more secure within...
> (Department of Education, 1944, p. 5)

The Thomas Report was prescribed as a text in many university education courses during the late 1940s-50s. American texts prescribed here during this time similarly embodied progressivist ideals; the 1946 Harvard

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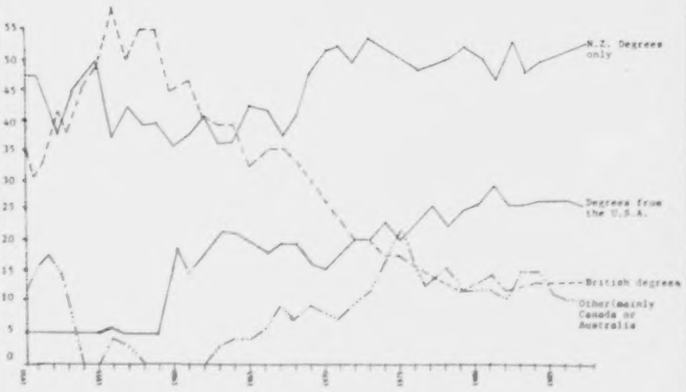
[2] If someone had New Zealand graduate and overseas postgraduate qualifications, it was assumed s/he was a New Zealander who had studied overseas. In 1987, there were 107 teaching staff; 53 with New Zealand-only degrees, 26 United States, 13 with British, 2 with Australian, 7 with Canadian, and one other. Thirty-one of the 47 with overseas degrees had New Zealand undergraduate degrees; 16 had overseas degrees only. When recording the origins of overseas degrees for the graphs, if someone had two or more overseas degrees from different countries, we counted the country of the highest degree.

FIG. 2
PROPORTION OF TEACHING STAFF IN NEW ZEALAND UNIVERSITY EDUCATION DEPARTMENTS WITH DEGREES FROM NEW ZEALAND AND OVERSEAS.



Report, *General Education in a Free Society* is a common example. Education, then, was viewed as *an agent of social transformation.* As Auckland University's calendar prescription for the Master's paper 'Principles of Sociology' stated in 1950: 'the influences of educational agencies upon social structure' was the central theme. However, by 1961, the prescription had been changed and described 'Educational sociology' as the study of 'the social forces that influence education'. This reversal – whereby 'society' was seen as structuring schooling, rather than schooling as transforming society – resulted from the impact of positivism and functionalism as the new dominant discourses in the sociology of education. These perspectives 'bracketed out' the deeper philosophical, ethical and epistemological problems which had concerned liberal/progressive thinkers.

Before outlining the impact of scientific and functionalist sociology in New Zealand, I shall discuss briefly some texts from the 1930s and 1940s which remained in use here well into the 1950s, Possibly the most prolific producer of sociology texts at the time was Robert MacIver, who spent most of his long career in the United States. However, he had been born on the island of Lewes, 'the most northerly and much the largest of the Outer Hebrides' (MacIver, 1962; p. 2). In 1903 he completed his MA in Edinburgh with first-class honours in classics; he graduated PhD there also, and took a BA at Oxford with a double first in 'Greats'. He wrote 23 books, three of which were much-prescribed in New Zealand 'educational theory' and 'sociology of education' courses (some from the 1930s): *Community: A Sociology Study; The Elements of a Social Science*; and (with Charles Page) *Society*. As Beeby expressed it (1973, p. xvi), 'sociology hovered for a period between the weighty theoretical generalisations of a MacIver and the statistical generalisations and no less terrifying vocabularies of the younger generation of sociologists'. MacIver's *The Elements of a Social Science* was first published in 1921, revised in 1949, and had its final printing in 1960. In what was a challenge to the prevailing scientism, MacIver (1960, p. 13) warned students that:

> It is a common view that science begins and ends with measurement. Whether or not this is true of physical science, it is certainly not true of social science. . . Light and colour mean more to the mind than vibrations and wavelengths, and that always eludes measurement. Heat is not to be understood as the dance of atoms. It is something we feel.

Within this perspective, the study of meanings, feelings and the development of people's beliefs – possible with the help of qualitative methods – remained sociologically valid. The theoretical eclecticism of the time made a wide variety of sociological investigations possible. As Beeby said of Somerset's *Littledene* – a participant observation study: 'It was still possible to look with a trained eye at a total community, and to write about it in a language that would be intellectually respectable and yet intelligible to the layman.' (Beeby, 1973, p. xiv). However, by the 1960s, such 'enlightened subjectivity' (Watson, 1973, p. 4) was rendered 'unscientific' as positivist versions of functionalism gained ascendancy.

The functionalist texts prescribed throughout the 1960s and early 1970s were, almost without exception, of British origin, although many of their authors drew their major theoretical influences from American sources, such as Talcott Parsons. A. K. Ottaway's *Education and Society* was prescribed in the later 1950s at all campuses at Stage One level. Its cover flap describes it as 'the only general introduction to the sociology of education from an entirely English point of view'. In an introductory statement, Professor Lester Smith (whose own book *Education*, was the successor to Ottaway's as a Stage One text) paid tribute to the international makeup of sociology of education as a field of study, 'Durkheim in France, Max Weber in Germany, Hobhouse in England – and today it flourishes nowhere more profusely than in the United States'. The prescription of such English texts at Stage One marked a shift in the geographical orientation of the curriculum of the first year courses from America to Britain. The most frequently prescribed of these British texts in the 1960s – early 1970s were Morrish's *The Sociology of Education; an Introduction*; Banks's *The Sociology of Education*, and Musgrave's *Sociology of Education*. Halsey, Floud and Anderson's, *Education, Economy and Society* was an international reader, published in the United States and edited by two Britons and one American. Its 42 readings came from Britain, Germany, France and the United States.

Musgrave's (1965, p. 12) book serves as a useful example of the theoretical assumptions which informed all these texts:

> What part does education play in the balance between stability and change, in maintaining a democratic political system, in ensuring the full use of the talented people in our society and, finally, in supplying trained manpower to the economic system?

Within the functionalist discourse, schooling is no longer the initiator of change, but becomes the obedient servant of that dictatorial reification, 'the economy'. It serves not to promote critical inquiry, but to maintain social cohesion and unity. It ensures that its members shall be loyal to the present system of government. It selects both political leaders and the workforce, acting as a 'sorting mechanism', and preventing the 'wastage of talent' needed to maintain the economy. Explaining that he believes that 'an introductory textbook should avoid controversy', Musgrave argued that 'a fully developed adult personality will be able to obey those in authority'. Progressives would have been turning in their theoretical graves; people were no longer the creators of democratic communities, but had been reduced to passively-socialised instruments of 'the government' and 'the economy'. 'Economies' had 'needs', which it was the function of schooling to fulfill.

The impact of such perspectives on New Zealand sociologists of education can be gauged by studying their publications. The *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies* began publication in May 1966. There have been 44 issues to date containing 274 articles.[3] Forty-eight (17 percent) of these were sociological in theory and/or topic.[4] Of the references cited in all the sociological articles, 51 percent were to New Zealand sources. This is to be expected, since most local research addresses local issues and therefore draws on local data, such as reports from government departments, census documents, and previous research. The high New Zealand content, therefore, does not necessarily indicate the development of a strong indigenous theoretical base. I shall demonstrate that our major theories have been 'imported' from overseas – mainly Britain, the United States and Continental Europe. Of total references cited in *NZJES* sociology articles, 28 percent were to American, and 13 percent to British sources.

During the 1960s and early 1970s, most research in New Zealand sociology of education was functionalist in its assumptions and quantitative in its methods. Believing the research methods of the physical sciences to be appropriate for the study of social phenomena, sociologists used statistical tests to establish correlations between variables such as 'socio-economic status' and 'examination success'. While many such studies were atheoretical (i. e., they did not specify their theoretical origins), others drew explicitly on functionalist writers such as Parsons. Parsonian concepts such as 'role', 'role conflict' and 'socialisation' were freely used in *NZJES* papers at the time. The focus of such research was usually on the solving of what were defined by policy-makers as the 'social problems' of the time. Three such 'social problems' dominated the literature. The first was that of 'manpower planning'. Within this discourse, people became 'manpower units', 'human resources' or 'personnel'. For example, in a paper on the shortage of university graduates in science and technology, Braithwaite (1967, p. 54) argued that, 'education in developed countries has become a sector of the economy. . . everything that happens and will happen in education must be considered in relation to the needs of the economy'. Watson's (1966) study of what he termed the 'marrying behaviour' of women teachers was similarly framed; married women teachers were wasted human resources who must be lured back to the classroom in a time of national emergency (the teacher shortage). A second set of studies devised ways of measuring 'the rate of juvenile delinquency'; like the 'human resources' research, these were framed in terms of problems of social control. A third set of studies developed quantitative instruments to help the other researchers to measure 'socio-economic status' (SES). In all, 21 of the 48 sociological articles fell within the positivist/functionalist category. Of the references cited in these, 53 percent were to New Zealand, 9 percent to British, and 29 percent to American sources.

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[3] For this purpose we counted only major articles and excluded reviews, comments and symposia containing only brief papers. However, we have tallied the countries of origin of the books reviewed separately. Altogether 155 books were reviewed; 38 from New Zealand, 14 from the United States, 73 from the United Kingdom and 3 from Australia.

[4] The articles were classified as follows: curriculum 29 (10 percent); psychology 77 (28 percent); papers written from within the 'testing' paradigm 31 (11 percent); history 58 (21 percent); philosophy 12 (4 percent), administration 7 (2 percent) and others 12 (4 percent).

There were, however, many questions which could not be addressed within such reductionist perspectives, which bracketed out vast dimensions of social reality. Working outside the dominant positivist traditions in sociology, social anthropologists had continued to employ qualitative methods to study the everyday lives of ordinary people. In 1975, Geraldine McDonald argued for a phenomenological focus in educational research, which would study people's *interpretations* of their social reality. As Pouwer has argued, 'an anthropologist trained in understanding meanings and differences in meanings could contribute significantly to a deeper understanding of New Zealand society' (quoted in McDonald, 1975; p. 80). During the 1960s and 1970s there were several significant contributions within what later came to be termed the 'interpretive paradigm' in New Zealand educational research, for example, McDonald's research into the everyday lives and perceptions of playcentre mothers, which was also one of this country's first sociological studies to make women's perspectives its central concern. Around this time there were two important qualitative studies by visiting Americans. Jo Mercurio, who held a Fulbright graduate student award here in 1968, wrote a book on caning as educational ritual at a boys' secondary school (an issue which had appalled a previous Fulbright scholar, David Ausubel, in the 1950s). T. K. Fitzgerald, another American visitor, carried out one of this country's first pieces of modern social research using life-history-analysis techniques. His topic was the educational experiences of Maoris who were university graduates (Fitzgerald, 1973; 1977). While New Zealand references abounded in these studies, they also drew heavily for theoretical inspiration on Americans of the interpretive traditions (especially symbolic interactionism); Gouldner, Becker, and Goffman, among others.

In 1978, Richard Bates published a controversial review article in *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*. Inspired by the phenomenological perspectives coming from Britain (known then as the 'new' sociology of education), Bates (1978, p. 17) claimed that:

> Sociological research in New Zealand is virtually non-existent. Even basic studies of such matters as the relations of class to opportunity and achievement are limited to those of Vellekoop's (1971) study on vocational choice, incidental aspects of research into Maori education... and illustrative studies.... Thus New Zealand can hardly claim to have emerged into the era of traditional, let alone come to grips with the new, sociology of education.

Bates's paper contained 61 references: four from New Zealand, ten from the United States and 47 from Britain. Ignoring existing New Zealand anthropological and interpretive work, his review focused almost entirely on recent British research on the sociology of the curriculum and on patterns of classroom interaction. He described how, drawing on phenomenological assumptions, British sociologists such as Michael F. D. Young had questioned the dominant functionalist premises, such as 'deficit' models of 'school failure' (which were also common in this country with respect to what was perceived as the 'failure' of Maori children). Instead, they claimed, sociologists should study the nature of what had come to count as 'school knowledge' – how and why it had been selected, classified, and stratified (for example, into high and low status 'subjects'). In addition to this academic knowledge, pupils' everyday commonsense knowledge became an object of their study. The patterns of authority within schools, pupil subcultures and classroom interaction became central issues to research.

During the late 1970s the phenomenologically-informed 'interpretive' perspectives became highly influential in both sociology and curriculum theory courses in this country. It is difficult to gauge which textbooks were used in university education departments during the 1970s, since most campuses stopped listing set texts in their calendars at this time. Those few which were listed, or which we personally read or used at the time, were British in origin and focused strongly on phenomenological critiques of functionalism and reviews of recent studies of classroom interaction and the sociology of knowledge: Tyler's (1977) *The Sociology of Educational Inequality*; Shipman's (1975) *The Sociology of the School*; Eggleton's (1978) *Sociology of the Curriculum* and Keddie's (1973) *Tinker Tailor: the Myth of Cultural Deprivation* (which drew heavily on the tradition of American cultural anthropology).

The reasons for the popularity of the interpretive sociologies at this time are themselves of sociological interest. To provide information on the theoretical influences on contemporary New Zealand university sociologists of education, questionnaires were sent to all heads of university Education Departments to distribute to those whose teaching and research was 'sociological'. We received 19 responses. Only three sociologists were aged less than 40, one was 60; the rest were aged 40-48. The generation of the post-war baby boom now dominates New Zealand sociology of education. Thirteen of our respondents had been undergraduates in the 1960s and 16 had begun post-graduate studies in the early to mid-1970s. Two had American qualifications, three had British, one Australian, the remainder New Zealand-only qualifications. All but two had at some stage attended a teachers college. The age-group involved is sociologically significant in explaining how and why first the interpretive, then the Marxist discourses have become dominant. With one or two exceptions, the authors of the major New Zealand functionalist works of the 1960s have retired and are no longer teaching courses in the sociology of education. Their concerns with social order could be seen as those of a generation who had survived the chaos of war. The concerns of the post-war sociologists were those of understanding and explaining the failure of the post-war egalitarian vision.

The popular social movements of the 1960s and 1970s contained the seed of both the phenomenological, and the later more radical Marxist, revolt against functionalism, with its reductionist model of humanity. The phenomenological/interpretive discourse in education was the academic counterpart of the popular 'grassroots' movements for free schools, open classrooms and deschooling. Post-war babies who grew up to be teachers believed so passionately in education as a means towards liberation, for these were the children who had imbibed the ideals of post-war progressivism through 'play-way', along with the free school milk that had flowed so liberally from the coffers of the benevolent welfare state. Education was, after all, their route to social mobility. Children of poor, rural and Maori parents, who had themselves lacked educational 'opportunities' flocked to the cities, to teachers colleges and universities. Jobs were easy to get when bursaries and studentships ran low. Anything seemed possible.

Many students also came to see educational change as *desirable*. For example, during the 1960s, many demanded 'relevance' – the curriculum did not explain why New Zealand supported America in dropping napalm on women and children in South-East Asia, why life on earth itself was threatened by the terrifying spectre of the arms race, why non-white peoples throughout the world were starving and oppressed. Many of those who did not 'drop out' struggled to make education 'relevant'. American social movements such as the hippy movement, anti-war protests, black civil rights, feminism, de-schooling and free schools were widely discussed (Phillips, 1988). Allowing their pupils to pursue their own inquiries in open classrooms seemed to many teachers a means of educating people who would be autonomous, healthy and unable to tolerate oppression of any kind. The books of John Holt, Ivan Illich, Herbert Kohl and Postman and Weingartner – all writing and/or publishing in America – profoundly influenced many New Zealand educators. From within universities, academic educators similarly researched school pupils' experienced reality and challenged the oppressive elitisms of what had come to count as 'academic' school knowledge. Metge and Kinloch's work on Maori and Polynesian children's alienation from Pakeha schooling (1978) and Harker's earlier work on Maori versus Pakeha knowledge codes (1980) are examples of local research from such a perspective.

However, at the same time, a more radical set of perspectives was beginning to develop. Phenomenology could not explain how and why children in 'open classrooms' remained unequal. Writers such as Sharp and Green and Whitty in England, Bowles and Gintis in the United States formulated Marxist approaches which explained educational inequalities as materially grounded in the social relations of class, race and gender generated by capitalism. Bowles and Gintis (1977) whose work profoundly influenced New Zealand sociology of education, argued that the inequitable social relations in schools corresponded structurally to, and served to reproduce, those in the wider capitalist society. However, their highly mechanistic analysis could not explain how and why such correspondence came about. The work of British neo-Marxist ethnographers such as Paul Willis, Angela McRobbie and others at the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) provided rich ethnographic accounts of how working class adolescent boys and girls both accepted and resisted their subordination. So influential was this perspective in New Zealand, that it inspired the setting up at Massey of a cultural studies working group, whose journal, *Sites*, has become one of the more popular of this country's academic journals.

Since 1980, the *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies* has published 13 papers which employ Marxist analysis (nearly a third of its total sociological content). Fifty-six percent of the references in these are to New Zealand, 12 percent to American, and 24 percent to British sources. French theorists have recently become increasingly influential, largely through translations and their incorporation into British scholarship in the sociology of education. In this, our survey of New Zealand educational sociologists showed some interesting results. Respondents were asked to rank the extent to which ideas from different parts of the world had influenced their sociological thinking. Britain was ranked by eleven of the 19 as the major influence and six as the second most influential. Continental Europe was ranked second, the United States and New Zealand equally third; Australia was next and finally Canada.

We asked the sociologists to list any theorists and/or books which had particularly strongly influenced them as sociologists. 'Top of the pops' was Marx, who was mentioned by 13 respondents. Gramsci was listed by eight as one of their key theorists. Numerous writers who worked from Marxist premises were mentioned. American Marxists included C. Wright Mills (four) and Bowles and Gintis (six). American liberal-left curriculum theorists such as Michael Apple (six) and Henri Giroux (two) were also listed. British 'left-wing' writers claimed as major influences were Paul Willis (five), Anthony Giddens (three), Raymond Williams (three) and the collective work of the Birmingham CCCS (three). Other key theorists were Durkheim (five) and writers whose work has drawn substantially on his work – Bourdieu (nine) and Bernstein (five). When asked to define their own present theoretical position, eleven of the nineteen defined themselves as falling within a Marxist or 'left-wing' framework : there were five (qualified) Marxists (one revolutionary, three neo- and two realist). Three were socialist or Marxist feminists and another three were 'critical theorists'. Only one person chose the definition 'phenomenologist', although four mentioned Michael F. D. Young's work as having been formative of their present position. The most frequently mentioned feminist theorists were Maxine Greene (two), Madeline Arnot (two) and Dale Spender (two). There was one sociologist of language and four (qualified) eclectics (including one 'radical', one 'comfortable' and one 'confused'!).

Three of the respondents were junior lecturers, four were lecturers, ten senior lecturers and two associate professors/readers. Five were women, the other fourteen men. Seven had never had study leave.[5] Of the twelve who had had leave, seven had been to Australia, seven to Britain, two to Canada, one to France, and only one to the United States. Five had never attended an overseas conference. Of the fourteen who had, ten had been to Australia, four to Britain, one to Canada, one to France, one to Italy and one to the United States.

We also asked in our questionnaire which academic journals people read reasonably regularly. Nine read the *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies* and twelve the *British Journal of Sociology of Education*.

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[5] Some had attended conferences and/or had study leave in several countries – in this case individuals have been counted more than once.

Sites was read by five, *Delta* by three and *NZ Sociology* by seven. The most popular American journals were the *Harvard Educational Review* (six) and *Educational Theory* (three). Journals read regularly by two people were the *New Zealand Women's Studies Journal*, *Capital and Class* and *New Left Review*. *Teachers College Record* (American), *Interchange* and *Curriculum Inquiry* (both Canadian) were the others listed twice.

In their teaching, those who responded to our survey believed it most important to introduce their students to New Zealand sociology. Most did not prescribe texts, but relied on recommended readings. Texts prescribed for more than one course were usually from New Zealand: Codd, Harker and Nash's *Political Issues in New Zealand Education*, Ramsay's *Family, School and Community* and Middleton's *Women and Education in Aotearoa* – as Moss's chapter in this volume shows this is a far cry from the 1930s with their lack of local materials. Overseas sociological texts in use included Meighan's *A Sociology of Educating* (U. K.), Connell et al's *Making the Difference* (Australia) and Robertson's *Sociology*. Those who edited and contributed to the New Zealand texts were using their own and their peers' material with their students. Within these texts the authors frequently refer to one another's work. Collaborative styles of editing and writing are becoming more common. Collegial networks are also being strengthened by the regular conferences of the New Zealand Association for Research in Education (NZARE) (to which seven belonged), the New Zealand Sociological Association and the New Zealand and Australian Association of Social Anthropologists (three respondents belonged to each), and the New Zealand Women's Studies Association (two respondents). A strong sense of New Zealand identity in sociology is beginning to emerge. The establishment of local journals such as *Sites* and *New Zealand Sociology* and the separation of the Sociological Association of Aotearoa/New Zealand from the former combined association with Australia (SAANZ) are further evidence of this.

New Zealand sociologists today find themselves responding to agendas set outside the academy as a new version of the discourse of 'social control' and 'social efficiency' – the market liberal discourse – threatens the fabric of the welfare state and marginalises or renders void the aims of education as a means of developing critical inquiry. Within this discourse education is once more reduced to the status of a servant to meet 'the needs of the economy' (e. g., New Zealand Treasury, 1987). Market liberal ideas have been imported from the United States but, more directly from Thatcher's Britain. American educators such as Aronowitz and Giroux (1987) have argued that educators should re-read Dewey and other 'progressives' as a means of restoring education to its central place in developing critical thought. However, Aotearoa has its own identity to create, its own unique issues collectively to address, such as the Treaty of Waitangi, the nuclear-free policy, the role of public and private, and our identity as a South Pacific nation. These are some of the issues which now most concern New Zealand sociologists and all who work here in education.

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4

HIGHER EDUCATION FOR WOMEN: CHOICE OR CHANCE?

Ann M Keppel

Nearly a month ago Maxine Greene called me in Honolulu from New York City with news of her major surgery and her profound guilt at not keeping a promise to a Geraldine McDonald in New Zealand. To assuage her guilt and to get on with how she was I said that she could give my name to New Zealand. Her guilt was my concern. I have learned in my many years as a woman and my most recent two years as a Director of Women's Studies at the University of Hawaii that a requirement of group survival is helping women *not* to feel guilty – about saying 'No' to a committee assignment, about an assertion at a male department meeting or for merely existing – a phenomenon absent from dialogue with male colleagues. Never before has resonating to a friend's guilt led to a Fulbright conference in New Zealand. So I entered this conference by chance, by the back door, by the servant's entrance, not unlike the entrance of women in higher education.

Within higher education a good deal of the guilt is related to a sense of betrayal, especially for women. Yet, one of the great learning experiences and one of its most traumatic is to discover that your authorities for knowledge are wrong – dead wrong. My earliest experience in this exercise was in teaching United States History to university sophomores in whom patriotic chauvinistic views of our nation had been thoroughly indoctrinated. I found that to raise questions, to pose choices, to question their previous authorities was to unnerve them. Even the accumulated evidence of primary sources could not disabuse some of them of their convictions. I, an anomaly as a woman professor, presumed to disagree with their authorities, to jar their reality, their belief system.

This sense of betrayal for me is also highly personal. I was 'well trained' as an historian, and an historian of education at the University of Wisconsin. The experience was marked by superb teaching and excellent scholarship – all male. I learned a good deal and for years taught well and comfortably following the male model. As my own research expanded, I felt an enormous sense of betrayal. It was not easy to contradict Larry Cremin, Merle Curti, Merle Borrowman, my mentors, my supportive and beloved authorities.

My first public colloquium at the College of Education at University of Hawaii examined historical attitudes toward women's rational powers (or lack thereof) and what selected women had themselves written. A male colleague, a very close friend (personally and ideologically), approached me to say 'Is this history or is this propaganda?' By using sources he had not unearthed, I challenged his authority. We both felt betrayed.

I anticipate from some of this audience the same resistance, the same amused tolerance, even condescension women often experience in the alien atmosphere of academe. And I have no illusions about any resultant profound changes in your belief system.

To cast the novel idea into the accepted pool of knowledge about women's education will, I trust, leave more than a mere surface ripple as it sinks into the depth of your understanding. The myths that we have all agreed for too long to believe in are in the process of change.One of the more powerful myths is that women are now accepted on a par with men in the academy. To quote a recent American best seller, Allan Bloom's *The Closing of the American Mind*: 'Men and women are now used to living in exactly the same way and studying exactly the same things and having exactly the same career expectations.... The battle here has been won'.[1]

But Bloom would reinstate Latin as a requirement for all educated youth and transmit Western culture through the Great Books of the Western world (echoes of Robert Maynard Hutchins and Mortimer Adler). Bloom would restore Platonism to schooling – his belief in the trans-historical permanence of forms of truth. He even argues that Western culture is the universal culture – free love of wisdom. Only Western culture can transcend local and provincial knowledge. The dailyness of life is life in Plato's cave. Bloom, an apologist for a small elite, literally aches for his imagined past, a stratified elitist society in which he would no doubt be among the Philosopher Kings. Egalitarianism is the culprit that has destroyed our higher learning. His Cornell experience with militant black students and the formation of Black Studies and Women's Studies disturbed his universe.

Although he asserts all battles are over on the 'woman question' he warns us of the repercussions. Feminism, he argues, destroyed that peculiarly 'female virtue' of 'modesty' and the absence of modesty has torn loose the feminist self from 'its teleological moorings'.[2]

By tapping our nostalgia Bloom has written a best seller clearly touching a sensitive nerve. Bloom does address that tension between tradition and innovation that we are all seriously involved with. It is this tension between innovation and tradition I would address.

But first I would like to examine with you the educational traditions to which we women have been heir – and to which we have been grudgingly granted access. Higher education for women in America has been hierarchical, patriarchal, elitist.

Both the United States and New Zealand began their non-aboriginal histories as British colonies. England was 'home', the centre of culture and of our own language, the model for our institutions, including our schools. Our colonial experience may be our closest link. American political separation occurred in the late 18th century very near in time to that blip in history when New Zealand (and Hawaii) were discovered by Europeans.

Our colonial colleges were founded in religious fervour like the medieval universities and were all male – Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Dartmouth, William & Mary, Kings College (to become Columbia during the revolution). Knowledge was the domain of men.

Our political separation known as the American revolution was rooted in Enlightenment beliefs. 'We are endowed by our Creator' wrote Thomas Jefferson, our scholar politician, 'with certain inalienable rights – life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness'. Even his radical proposal for free public schools in Virginia, twice rejected, began with 'boys and girls' for three years, after which there would be two stages of raking from the rubbish the 'natural aristocracy' of men. Those males would have free access to an appropriate preparatory school and a college experience. Through the prism of female experience Thomas Jefferson proposed a patriarchy, a hierarchy. When directly queried on his views on female education, he confessed he had given it little thought. The father of daughters, no sons, Thomas Jefferson despite his espousal of truly radical views of human nature did not include women as truly human.

Jefferson feared women's 'inordinate passion prevalent for novels' which led to a 'bloated imagination, sickly judgement, and disgust towards the real business of life'. He urged the study of French the 'depository of all science', music, drawing and dancing. But he thought the French rule 'That no lady dances after marriage' a good one, for 'gestation and nursing leaving little time when this exercise can be either safe or innocent'. He recommended needlework for his daughters 'in a dull company and in dull weather... it would be rude to leave guests or to read – the needle is then a valuable resource'.[3] We are indeed trapped by our time and space.

Men were released in our early years as a nation to pursue a variety of futures. Women were to marry and were taught to be good mothers to self-governing citizens. Recognising that men had usurped what was declared human, one young woman in Philadelphia in 1793 (cogently modern to us) declared '... our high and mighty Lords... have denied us the means of knowledge and then reproached us for want of it'.[4]

Early patriots of the experiment in self-government self-consciously placed the new nation in the centre of the universe. Jedidiah Morse produced the first geography of the United States (and the Known World) and Noah Webster's Dictionary emerged from the premise that the American language should be as distinct from the British English as Dutch was from German. Cultural separation from England – at least for males – began early.[5]

Mary P. Ryan makes clear how completely 19th century popular literature extolled no virtues for women except domesticity. Even women writers joined the chorus. It now appears that a major shift giving child rearing responsibilities exclusively to the mother occurred 1830-1860. As men

74

went out to work, so females were told, it was they who created a home, bore and suckled children, socialized them, provided emotional support and passively watched them leave the nest. Women were warned that, 'Self-independence and self control are ever the offspring of weakness and ignorance...' for women.[6]

By 1850 the notion that all American children had a right to free public non-sectarian common schooling was gaining momentum. Teachers were required to staff this new enterprise, spreading from state to state. State funded teacher training schools (the Normal School of the 19th century) attracted women in large numbers. By 1860 women teachers outnumbered male teachers in the US (77.8 percent female).[7]

Just as our Normal Schools historically preceded Colleges of Education so female seminaries preceded Normal Schools. All trained teachers. By 1850 when male and female literacy rates were relatively the same, there were literally hundreds of private seminaries for young women. Prior to 1830, 360 secondary level schools for girls have been identified.[8]

Denied access to male bastions of knowledge, women created schools for women offering rigorous, if not tougher, curricula than existed in some colleges. Each appropriated for herself and her female students new options. They offered – through knowledge – new roles, allowing women a choice between marriage (the norm) and spinsterhood (which usually meant being attached to someone else's household) or between marriage and working in the textile mills. These women pioneers consciously taught their students to be teachers, adding hundreds of well qualified women to the teaching corps of the nation. Operating within, not countering the prevailing notion of separate spheres for men and women, they broke loose from what Geraldine Clifford calls 'the domestic imperative'; women teachers could choose a 'psychic reward unique to their gender'.[9]

Teaching others was the entrance to an independent life. A new intellectual and social role was created for women fostering independence, ambitions and public leadership as well as mobility.[10]

Examples included Sarah Pierce's Litchfield Academy in Connecticut which brought Harriet and Catherine Beecher (and many other women) knowledge not available in the homes of their learned fathers. The students of Emma Willard (and her sister Almira Phelps) were from the very best families – lawyers, judges, diplomats, governors – but Troy Female Seminary offered generous subsidies to those poor women who paid their debts to Troy by teaching. Troy graduates dispersed throughout the nation, married, established schools on the Troy model and used the extensive textbooks their mentors had written.[11] Mt Holyoke Female Seminary founded by the pious Mary Lyon for poor rural women, produced not only teachers but missionary wives and even single missionaries. Mary Lyon's inevitable question to her former pupils 'are you married or are you teaching?' symbolizes the new choice for women created by pioneer educators.

Institutions change slowly and tend to self-perpetuate. Males dominated higher education and access to the newly emerging professions of law and medicine. Not that women did not try. A woman, Harriot Hunt, applied to Harvard Medical School in 1835. Again in 1854 both she and three black men were provisionally admitted (the latter had promised not to practice medicine in America, but in Liberia). But when white male students heard of this, they met to protest. The coloured men, they said, were 'socially repulsive' and they (students) did not wish to associate with a woman who would 'unsex herself' by studying with men. These four deviants were rejected in order to 'preserve the dignity of the school and our own self respect'. Not one even attended lectures. The first woman admitted to Harvard Medical School who actually attended was in 1945 – and there were 14 of them.[12]

Women in America did not attend college in significant numbers until well into the 19th century. Their access was most marked not in single sex colleges but in co-educational institutions – a controversial experiment deemed peculiarly American. As one early graduate at Berkeley (University of California) noted 'no one expected women to attend the University and therefore no plans were made to keep them out'.[13]

The earliest coeducational private colleges – Antioch and Oberlin – both in Ohio, were experimental offshoots of the antislavery movement and were, from the outset, not merely co-racial but co-educational as well. Pioneer state universities, especially in the West, now the Midwest, included Iowa, Missouri, Wisconsin, Michigan though women initially entered through the normal (teacher training) department, via the back door. They soon became an integral part of liberal arts curricula. The late nineteenth century saw the establishment of single sex colleges – Vassar, Smith, Wellesley, Bryn Mawr, Barnard (initially Harvard Annex), Radcliffe and Mt. Holyoke (chartered as a bona fide college in the 1880s) – a relatively late development in the larger pattern. By 1920 higher education had the clearly established patterns of co-educational colleges and universities, the women's colleges and the all male Harvard, Princeton, Yale, Dartmouth et al. – the Ivy League.

Though granted access, women were closely monitored and restricted in how and what they could learn. For example, at Oberlin, women initially were awarded certificates, not degrees, could not read their award winning essays at commencements, used the library at designated times, could not join debating societies. They did join men at meals for 'civilised discourse'.[14]

Between 1860 and 1910, there were fundamental shifts in American higher education. Influenced by Americans who had studied in Germany, educational leaders transformed colleges into research universities. Identification with disciplines, with professional associations and journals replaced the identification with the college. Science entered academe. The seminar encouraged individual research. A veritable explosion of knowledge transformed higher education. Although there continued to be close monitoring of both faculty and students, talk of academic freedom for both was in the air.[15]

During this same historical period, unprecedented numbers of women attended colleges and universities. We are just beginning to explore how their presence affected them and those institutions they attended. What, at this juncture, appears clear is that when the sheer number of women began to match that of men, that is, where women approached or surpassed the number of men in attendance, something of a backlash emerged. If one thinks analogically as I tend to do, this may be the most significant phenomenon of the past for us to consider for today, when women are attending in numbers almost equal to men.

Despite their large number, or I suspect because of them, women did not fare well in the turn-of-the-century colleges and universities. When male/female attendance at Grinnell approached parity (in Iowa, a 4 year college, co-ed from outset) women were segregated in separate programmes, housing units, social organisations – all moves of constraint not equality.[16]

Florence Howe's comparison of Wellesley and Stanford clarifies the extent that they both, especially Stanford, fell short of their promise of sexual equality. Mrs Leland Stanford, after her husband's death, was the real controller of events. When there were financial uncertainties she established a female quota, lest Stanford University became known as a female school.[17]

And at Cornell University in New York (that curious combination of private/public land grant institution) women railed vainly against male privilege. The much heralded Sage dormitory for women did allow women to attend but established and restricted the numbers admitted for years. As late as the 1950s male fraternity members were punished for inviting a Cornell woman to any social event.[18]

Even at the newly established University of Chicago, where both the rhetoric of equality and the early hiring of women were promising, when the sheer numbers of women who flocked to attend came close to the number of men, antagonism to co-education surfaced. For a time after 1902, women were separated into a sort of junior college. It did not last long, but in its wake, women did not regain their initial intellectual/social equality.[19]

As the research university replaced the more community oriented college, identification with disciplines replaced the identification with Alma Mater (always an amusing symbol for such male oriented institutions). As the notion of professional and of scholar now defined the status of higher education it ran counter to prevailing notions of the feminine. There were early female women pioneers in all academic areas but both in sheer numbers and in status women's participation in the emerging institutions languished.[20] Both the proportion of women attending higher education and the proportion of women administrators and faculty declined from 1930 to 1970.[21]

Jane Addams, founder of Hull House at the beginnings of the social settlement movement, wrote of 'The Snare of Preparation' – the plight of educated women with nowhere to go.[22] It may well be that nineteenth century women's culture and feminist consciousness were weakened by the large numbers of women who attended colleges. To succeed in college was to succeed in an alien and hostile environment.[23]

Except for Martha Carey Thomas at Bryn Mawr, even the women's colleges were, for the most part, headed by men. I have in my possession a T-shirt which reads SMITH COLLEGE – A CENTURY OF WOMEN ON TOP – 1876-1976 which cleverly avoids stating that this all female college had its first woman president in 1976!

We are all trapped spatially and temporally, conditioned by historical precedents and our own experience. To return to this issue of merging the novel with the traditional, the struggle becomes monumental when the elite – those who possess and govern knowledge – have a vested interest in maintaining the status quo. Yet it is not in our own self-interest – male or female – to continue to expose the next generations to knowledge devoid of the burgeoning feminist scholarship.

As the recent work on literacy now indicates, literacy in itself did not historically free people nor alter the norms and beliefs of the elite even when it would have been in the interest of the literate to do so.[24] Similarly with the history of women.

Even as we trace the entrance of women into the hallowed halls of learning and chart their demographies within academe, we continue to stumble over the extent to which,

1 women were relegated to their separate sphere, or,

2 women internalized the norm of the male elite who control knowledge.

Despite the Alma Mater symbols of status and school songs our knowledge factories have been and remain male dominated. With few exceptions, men have created the knowledge we acquire and take as our own. Men have lead roles in disseminating knowledge. Men have made all the major decisions about the fate of the universities/colleges and their inhabitants. Our major rituals for sports to commencement are male. Higher education is an old boy's club.

The two revolutionary forces at work for women's education in the United States today are,

1 Women's Studies, and,

2 an explosion of scholarly feminist literature.

And as consciousness spreads on the national level major laws – Civil Rights and Affirmative Action, for example – are in our favour. Increasingly United States Supreme Court decisions begin to buttress our role as equals on such issues as sexual harassment and hiring practices.

Women's Studies Programmes dating from about 1970, currently exist in one half of the four year colleges, two-thirds of universities, and one quarter of two year colleges. Women's academic journals offer status to the field of study. Over 50 Centres for Research on Women add to the recognition of the seriousness of the enterprise.

The National Women's Studies Association links academic administrators and faculty to community activists and teachers at all levels. University Microfilms International, the standard source of dissertations and theses has acknowledged Women's Studies, listing over 2,000 dissertations in this category between 1981-84.[25]

Women's Studies is an interdisciplinary explanation of the many worlds of women with an integrative focus. We seek to challenge traditional dualities and patriarchal claims to knowing, often in creative ways. Our teaching faculties come from a variety of traditional disciplines and form that curious position of being both insider and outsider to reformulate our knowledge through feminist perspectives. Coming from different directions we converge on that 'shared space' we call Women's Studies. At the outset of Women's Studies there was a tendency to add courses to supplement the existing curriculum – Women and Literature, Women and Education, etc. But this 'add and stir' approach (take New Zealand history and add women and stir), though acceptable and non-threatening, creates its own dualities.

At the University of Hawaii we in Women's Studies undertook a major curriculum revision two years ago – my first assignment as Director. We did not abandon the more traditional 'Women and....' model but we reconceptualised what we were doing around four areas of knowledge:

1 Words and Images
2 Minds and Bodies
3 Roles and Institutions
4 Gender Across Cultures

Courses in Words and Images examine both what has been said about women and what women have said about themselves, their experience, their views of the world. The power to name and therefore define includes literature, art, music, drama, theatre, and both written and oral communication as well as women within the spiritual/religious realm. Some of these offerings are cross listed with the Department of English, Drama, and Art. Others stand alone as Women's Studies courses. The second, Minds and Bodies deals with biological and psychological differences within the human species. We have a course, variously taught by a geneticist, a biologist, a medical anthropologist on Sex Differences in the Life Cycle (with a consistent enrolment of 100 to 150 men and women a semester). The psychological perspective reconstructs Freudianism, looks at the developmental stages in males and females and discusses women's health and illness from anorexia to AIDS. Roles and Institutions is perhaps our richest offering and links women to the social, political, economic milieu. In this flexible circle of knowledge we include marriage and family, work, crime, law, business, schooling, the military (a new course), and politics.

These are cross-listed with Sociology, Political Science, History, the Colleges of Business and Education. Finally Gender Across Cultures. Although we hope that all courses are somewhat geared to societies other than our own, it is in Gender Across Cultures that we can consciously examine gender through and across racial, ethnic, and national boundaries. What, for example, occurs to women as well as men, when traditional societies modernise? What does development mean to women of an emerging society? How have and do ethnic women survive immigration?

This interdisciplinary approval makes explicit implicit connections and taps the diversity and richness of new dimensions of knowledge. We connect with students because we acknowledge as significant those aspects of their experience and past otherwise unacknowledged in academe.

81

The next and necessary stage beyond the ghetto of Women's Studies is the very transformation of knowledge itself. This is not a fad but a re-examination of the basis of knowledge and how we know. This enterprise would go far to alleviate the sense of betrayal many academic women feel. Those who control knowledge control the culture of the time and place. The patriarchy has controlled the information we teach the young by which we shape our views of ourselves.

To integrate new knowledge becomes a matter not merely of learning but of unlearning. The debate is less between the feminists and the 'gatekeepers' of the academy than it is among women. The confrontations continue between the younger faculty, imbued with and creators of feminist writings and those of us who were educated in the richness of particular disciplines created and disseminated by the male power elite. For us it is a profoundly personal struggle of being simultaneously the insider and the outsider, the norm and the deviant from that norm, between being both a resource of knowledge and source of self criticism.

Women have been largely ignored in traditional approaches to knowledge. And where they have been considered at all, they have been measured in masculine terms. Women's experiences have been and continue to be distorted and misrepresented. The concept of humanity is that of the male writ large and woman is but an abstract deviation of this established NORM – a partial man or a negative image of a man or an object of the male needs. Women are studied all too often exclusively in terms of their relationships to men (hence the female stereotypes that emerge and are sustained). To rethink the concept of humanity as BOTH male and female is to alter radically its meaning – historically, in the social sciences, in the arts and humanities. To throw women into the equation is to try to integrate the alien and forces us to look at the discontinuities, the oppositions and contradictions rather than continuities and coincidences. It is not just women as the subject of knowledge or the knowledge ABOUT women – but transforming the very basis of knowledge FOR women as well as men.

What I'm coming to see as absolutely critical is this very transformation of knowledge. I have no illusions about the difficulty of that task – feminist scholars in all fields are first of all few in numbers and predominantly in the lower ranks (and therefore can be ignored). The resistance is profound and the gatekeepers stubborn. If it takes a generation, as I see this requiring, I could scarcely allude to it as a revolution. Yet to bring about the changes that I see are esential to the knowledge base – to include women – is the only way to ensure equity and achieve justice.

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5

MARGARET MEAD: THE NEW ZEALAND CONNECTION

Jane Ritchie

I want to speak today of one of the greatest educators I ever met. She was American, and until of high school age, she hardly went to school. Yet she became a profound influence upon her society, upon her profession and particularly, upon women and their lives. Some years before she died *Time* magazine honoured her, not just as the Woman of the Year, but characterised her as 'the great mother of us all'. Her name was Margaret Mead.

I have chosen to speak of her today, not only for personal reasons, but because she had a special affection for New Zealand and was connected to this country by webs both intimate and intellectual. She never was a Fulbright Scholar to New Zealand but personified and represented the same spirit and tradition of generous sharing on which the Fulbright programme is founded.

No one has previously collected together, as far as I know, what her New Zealand connections really were, and so that will be my offering for you today.

Briefly stated, the contacts were these. In 1926, on her voyage back from her first field trip in Samoa, she met Reo Fortune, who joined the ship in Sydney on his way to Cambridge University. A New Zealander, he was to become her second husband.

After a rather characteristically tumultuous period back in the United States, in which she wrote *Coming of Age in Samoa* and became divorced from Luther Cressman, she travelled to the Antipodes to marry Reo (Mead, 1972, p. 13):

> We had planned to marry in Sydney. But while I was on the way Reo, responding to Radcliffe-Brown's persistent disbelief that I would really marry him, became restive and changed his mind. When my ship docked at Auckland, New Zealand, Reo appeared on board and announced we were getting married that day. There was no wedding ring small enough and we got one altered just in time to dash for the ship before it sailed. So we arrived in Sydney and presented Radcliffe-Brown with a fait accompli.

Reo Fortune had been a student of mental and moral science at Victoria University College under Thomas Hunter who later became principal of the college. Fortune was an early student of psychoanalysis and did his Master's thesis on the study of dreams. There was no formal study of anthropology in New Zealand at that time and Fortune was one of an interesting bunch of New Zealanders who had to expatriate themselves to study in that field in which so many gained great distinction. These New Zealanders, Raymond Firth, Harry Hawthorn, Cyril Belshaw, Ernest Beaglehole and others were part of the New Zealand international network which Margaret Mead maintained throughout her life.

In 1928 she met the historian John Beaglehole, presumably in England, and she shared with him a common interest in poetry. She was already, at the time, concerned with the relationship between poetic expression and national style and asked John to assist her in collecting poetry by his New Zealand contemporaries so that she might analyse it for cultural concerns and themes.

Later in 1928 Margaret and Reo went to New Guinea to begin their first study among the Manus, a culture they both enjoyed. Their next trip to New Guinea, in 1931, was not so happy. They intended to study the people living on the plain beyond the Torricelli Mountains, a people who built large triangular men's houses and whom they believed had a rich material and ceremonial life. There Margaret's interest in approaching culture through art and the expressions of the spirit might join with Reo's preoccupation with custom and ceremony.

But chance, one could almost say, fate, intervened. Their bearers (remember they were taking with them supplies of everything they would need for six months) suddenly put down their burdens and left them stuck in a village on the side of a mountain. They had no choice but study the people amongst whom they found themselves; the mountain Arapesh. Reo found the Arapesh very disappointing – 'these people haven't any culture worth speaking of', he once said, so unceremonious were they. Even Margaret thought at first that what we might today describe as their rather androgynous lifestyle shed little light on the problem of sex differences that she had been turning over in her mind. Later of course she was to use the Arapesh as a benchmark for a peaceable society where gender differences were so de-emphasized that they almost strained anthropological credulity as far as had Reo's accounts of Dobuan paranoia a few years before.

After a rather stressful and frustrating period with the Arapesh, a period in which they made 'no theoretical advances', and in which their personal relationships were strained, they decided to go down the Sepik River. One of the cardinal rules of anthropology at that time was that one must not invade another anthropologist's territory, so Margaret and Reo were careful not to trespass on Gregory Bateson's people, the Iatmul. So they decided to go up the Sepik as far as the first tributary above the Keram River (the territory of another anthropologist) and study the first people they came to on that river. These turned out to be the Mundugamor, very fierce and only recently converted from cannibalism, a tendency the intrepid Mead handled by simply not allowing them in the house.

Once again, both Mead and Fortune found this field site frustrating. Mundugamor culture had been radically changed when cannibalism was suppressed so there were no ceremonies for Reo to study. Margaret herself (Mead, 1972, p. 206) said of the Mundugamor:

> Most difficult of all for one to bear was the Mundugamor attitude toward children. Women wanted sons and men wanted daughters, and babies of the wrong sex were tossed into the river, still alive, wrapped in a bark sheath. Someone might pull the bark container out of the water, inspect the sex of the baby and cast it away again. I reacted so strongly against the set of the culture that it was here that I decided that I would have a child no matter how many miscarriages it meant.

Their next field site was among the Tchambuli, a people about whom almost nothing was known at the time except that they were said to have large men's houses, the type of material culture that Reo had been so eager to study. And here Margaret found the missing link in her puzzle, a culture where the expected sex roles of men and women were reversed.

I have dwelt a little on this New Guinea trip for two reasons. The first is that its results were of such epochal importance for women in their quest for liberation from traditional sex roles. The second is that I have heard some scholars, always male, cast aspersions on Margaret Mead's findings by alleging that she had carefully picked her tribes before she went to study them. Actually, even if she had, that would not have reduced the implications of her findings, but in fact, as *Blackberry Winter* clearly shows, she could not have known about the patterns of sex and temperament among the Arapesh, the Mundugamor or the Tchambuli before she lived amongst them because she and Reo were the first anthropologists to do so.

On her return to the United States she was intrigued by the new marriage that seemed to be occurring between psychology, her first academic love, which she had studied to Master's level, and her new love, anthropology. Her old teacher and friend, Ruth Benedict, put her in touch with the new young radicals of that emerging discipline of culture and personality, John Dollard, Larry Frank, Edward Sapir, Ralph Linton, Otto Klineberg and my parents, Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole.

Her friendship with Ernest Beaglehole, and his wife Pam, began when the Beagleholes were in the United States studying at Yale under a Harkness Fellowship in 1932. Ernest came there at the invitation of Peter Buck whom Margaret also knew, though Buck was shortly to leave Yale for the Bishop Museum in Honolulu where the Stirling family endowed for him a field professorship which he held concurrently with his post as director of the museum.

It was while at Yale that Mead, Buck, the Beagleholes and George Murdock formulated their plan to work from the Bishop Museum, to assemble a series of 'salvage ethnographies' of all the Polynesian island cultures. This grand dream was never completed because the war intervened. Mead, indeed, never participated in this grand design for Polynesian ethnography but turned her attention, instead, to fieldwork in Bali and the establishment of the Pacific Hall in the Hall of Man, at the American Museum of Natural History.

Her friendship with the Beagleholes continued throughout her life. Whenever my parents visited the United States they would make contact with her. She included Ernest, along with Gregory Bateson and Ruth Benedict, in the strange project of studying enemy nations at a distance during World War II. Ernest received all the analytical documents, which were at the time top secret, and read and commented upon them. Subsequently Mead consulted him about the establishment of CIMA, the Commission for the Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology. This project prepared the way for the establishment of island administrations in the Trust Territories after the war.

In 1951, on her way to Australia, Margaret Mead, accompanied by her twelve year old daughter, Cathy Bateson, stopped in Wellington to visit the Beagleholes. I was fifteen years old at the time, and I knew someone important was coming to stay since my parents, for the first and only time, gave up their bedroom to their honoured guest. I also had to give up my bedroom, to the guest's daughter.

Margaret gave one lecture in New Zealand on that trip, a lecture which I attended. Her message was that the war had shown how absolutely essential international understanding of peoples and nations was. She drew her examples from *And Keep Your Powder Dry*, from the 'Studies of the Enemy at a Distance' project and from the newly awakening concern about race. She, Klineberg and Beaglehole had put together the UNESCO statement on race, a precursor of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

During this trip, also, she renewed her acquaintance with John Beaglehole who, she wrote (Mead, 1976, p. xi) 'found new volumes of New Zealand poetry to use in teaching the relationship between geography and imagery'. Jim and I met her in 1960 when Jim was her student at Columbia University. For Jim, being in her fieldwork seminar was to be drawn into detailed acquaintance with the bulging filing cabinets and her extraordinary memory of her fieldwork in nine different cultures, quite apart from her encyclopaedic knowledge from the wartime studies. Her seminar relationship was immediate, intense, almost intimate and ever thereafter she would greet him literally as though no time at all had lapsed since their last meeting. Eight years later, for example, at the enormous convention of the American Anthropological Association in Washington, DC, Jim was going down the escalator and Margaret was going up. As they crossed, she said 'Oh Jim, I've been thinking about you. I want to talk to you. Come and see me' – as though those eight years had never elapsed. He hopped off the 'down' and upped the 'up', immediately to be engaged in practical matters of fieldwork arrangements for her next trip back to Manus.

In 1975, Margaret was invited to the United Womens Convention held in Wellington during International Women's Year. She chose to come to New Zealand instead of attending the International Women's Year Conference in Mexico City and specifically requested to stay with my mother in Waikanae and with ourselves in Hamilton (in fact she stayed in homes throughout her New Zealand tour). Subsequently she wrote a foreword for our book *Growing Up in New Zealand* saying (Mead, 1978, p. xi),

> New Zealanders share the English capacity to maintain friendships over great distances and over a long period of time. . . . On my last visit, in 1975, I enjoyed the careful, cherishing hospitality of a series of government agencies and of Pam Beaglehole and James and Jane Ritchie's guidance into new and old facets of Maori life and the new Samoan community.

Jim travelled with her throughout the country and describes the experience as trying to follow a battleship in a rowboat. At 74, she still had enormous energy. In the course of an ordinary day she would give a public lecture, a press conference, a radio interview, a university seminar, talk to one or two women's groups and still have time to turn the full intensity of her attention to some student hoping for encouragement in research. With him she visited Turangawaewae Marae where Para Matchitt had assembled great teams of people from primary school children to kaumatua who were all working collectively on the great mural in Kimiora. She asked for photos to be sent on its completion, and they were. In Dunedin, the tiny Samoan community gave her a special welcome and she addressed them in Samoan, a language she had not used for over 50 years.

I began her visit with us very much in awe of this great woman who was honouring us with her presence. I need not have worried, and my youngest daughter, then six years old, certainly did not worry either. Sara just slipped into bed with Margaret early in the morning just as she did with her grandmother when she came to visit.

I have memories of her sitting in our living room, knitting, carefully and slowly, rather dutifully, a shawl for her daughter's baby, as she pronounced vigorously and definitively on the topics raised by our friends. And from Margaret I learned a lesson in humility I have never forgotten. Jim and I drove her to a meeting of the local Federation of University Women where she was to be guest speaker. As we entered the foyer (the meeting was already in progress in the inner hall) her eye lighted on a table on which were placed name labels and a pen. Margaret Mead, guest of honour, walked over to the table and wrote herself a label. I commented that surely that was not necessary since everybody would know who she was, but she told me that it would be arrogant for her not to wear a label like everybody else!

Her simple humanness was evidenced again to me when, that evening, I went to her room to see if she was ready for the evening lecture. She was dressed but concerned about one thing, an errant bra strap, which I carefully pinned away under her dress. Then, cloak on shoulders and stick in hand, she was ready for her grand entrance into an overflowing hall.

That night I sat in the audience with my sixteen year old daughter as I had sat as a teenager with my mother at Mead's public lecture in 1957. Twenty-four years had passed and in that time she had built the public foundation for her profession and become a mentor and model to thousands of women.

I cannot think of a single woman who, in herself, demonstrated so many things that are important to women and who could speak for women from so many groups and for women of so many differing persuasions. As a staunch Episcopalian throughout her life, Christian women knew the values that she stood for. As a professional woman, she had achieved the pinnacle not only of anthropology, but as the President of the World Federation of Mental Health and the Association for the Advancement of Science. For feminists, she embodied freedom from the nuclear family without rejecting motherhood and its concerns.

What was important about the many speeches she made on that whirlwind visit in 1975 was the powerful endorsement of women's right to self actualisation. She made a virtue out of what she saw as female characteristics and had practical explanations for such mysteries as feminine intuition. Nothing mysterious about that, she said, 'women just pay attention more'. She conveyed a powerful sense of women's inventions over time – without needles, and without weaving, without baskets and pottery, where would we be?

This was coupled with a realistic appraisal of women's place in human society. If a culture had only a small animal, like a duck, then it belonged to men. If it had a duck and a dog, women would get the duck and men would get the dog or the horse, or the car, or the aeroplane, whatever the larger or more powerful animal or vehicle might be. And when someone about ten thousand years ago took the women's digging stick and attached it to the men's animal, the horse or the oxen, the plough was invented and with the plough came the possibility of agricultural surpluses and the beginnings of civilisation because (Mead, 1975, p. 12) 'the minute men got on to the farm they tried to get off it and they've been trying for about ten thousand years to think up ways to stop farming and they've pretty well succeeded'.

In her autobiography, *Blackberry Winter*, she places herself firmly in the middle of five generations of feminists and speaks as both grand-daughter and as grandmother.

In everything that she did, there was no doubt that she was doing it as a woman. Her grandmother had reared her, so her mother could have a career. Margaret Mead knew that qualities of mind were not genetically gender linked because her grandmother and her father had the same kind of mind, the kind of mind that was also hers; her mother's mind was different.

Sadly, the last New Zealand connection was the posthumous attack on her Samoan work by Derek Freeman, himself a New Zealander, and a former student of my father, Ernest Beaglehole. For reasons that have never been made clear, Freeman waited for five years after her death to publish his book *Margaret Mead and Samoa*. In this book he repeated the accusations that he had made for more than a decade (and she had persistently ignored), and attempted to back them up with very flimsy statistics, including rape statistics from Samoa. That book received more publicity than it deserved, and the publicity was due to Margaret Mead's mana, not Derek Freeman's scholarship.

In her book, *Coming of Age in Samoa*, Mead had found a way of making her first commentary upon her own society. All her life she was an educator: the books, the monographs, the films, the media presentations, her monthly column in *Redbook Magazine* for over fifteen years. She always burst beyond the limitations of institutions – she never held a chair or a regular academic post yet her work has influenced not only students but parents, educators, women and members of minority groups.

Her dream was of a human future which lay increasingly, she believed (Mead, 1978, p. xi-xii)

> . . . in the intensive search for and discovery by small nations and island societies, for long lineages and committed sapiental circles; for new ways in which the peoples of this planet, lost in an unrealised over-mechanical immensity, can again find ways of moving together and bringing up children who feel their feet firmly planted on some piece of covered earth, washed by the seven seas and under an over-arch in an atmosphere which they share with all the peoples of the world. One of the great contributions which New Zealand can make is people, who, after a happy healthy childhood, relate to a natural world they love, are able to go anywhere – or stay at home – and make important contributions to an emerging world community.

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6

'HOW THEY BROUGHT THE GOOD NEWS....': REPORT ON THE SURVEY OF NEW ZEALAND AND AMERICAN FULBRIGHT AWARDEES

Geraldine McDonald

Robin Winks, in an essay entitled 'A tissue of cliches', writes of the number of times that he has heard Fulbright scholars say that the experience has changed their lives or 'been instrumental to the development of their career'.[1] Winks asks 'Precisely how was a career altered? Exactly how was one's life changed?' What lies beneath the cliches? The best, and possibly the only way to get below the surface meanings is to collect information on a large number of Fulbrighters. Therefore, in preparation for the 40th Anniversary of the Fulbright programme in New Zealand the Board of the NZ-US Educational Foundation asked NZCER to gather information on all New Zealanders and Americans who had been given awards.[2] A total of 1534 people – 863 New Zealanders and 671 Americans – had been part of the programme when we started in late 1986. From the Foundation's files we assembled information for each person on year of award, type of award, area of study, institution attended, time on award, whether female or male, single or married and whether other family members went with the recipient. We traced as many of these people as we could and sent them a questionnaire. For some we had no address; for others the questionnaire was returned 'address unknown'; we were notified that some had died; and for nearly 500 others we have no information beyond that in the files. However, 662 replies which we were able to analyse came back, and a further 16 arrived past our cut-off date and over a year past the time when we first sent them out. We received returns from 50 percent (434) of all the New Zealanders and 43 percent of the New Zealanders and Americans combined. The aim was to gather information on experiences while on the award and any long term consequences which might be connected with it.

This account is a preliminary report on some of the material based on the total sample – all those who took part in the programme whether they answered the questionnaires or not – and I shall also use some of the information gathered by questionnaire. The project began two years ago and information for the last two years still has to be assembled in order to complete the record.

CATEGORY OF AWARD: NEW ZEALAND

Where the New Zealanders went, that is their destinations in the United States, varied according to type of award. There have been four main categories of award for New Zealanders; graduate student, senior scholar, exchange teacher, and short term travel award. The graduate students win travel awards, with some money for internal travel. The graduates must gain admission to an institution of higher learning and show evidence of having enough funds to support them while on the award. This usually means finding an institution which offers some financial support perhaps in return for assistance with teaching. The senior scholar awards are also for travel. The senior scholars either teach or do research and so they too need to find themselves a place in an American university or research institute although, since they are usually receiving their New Zealand salary, they do not need to find additional funds for living costs. The short term travel awards are for various categories of persons such as educational administrators, tutors in technical institutes and persons engaged in the creative arts. Their itineraries are organised on the American side and their living costs are met.

The teacher exchange scheme no longer operates, but during the time of its operation where a teacher went depended upon where a matching teacher willing to come to New Zealand could be found. As Joan Druett notes in her book *Fulbright in New Zealand*, many New Zealanders spent a year in the mid-west of America experiencing the life of small town communities.

CATEGORY OF AWARD: UNITED STATES

The United States awards have been for graduate students, senior scholars, exchange teachers and distinguished visitors making a brief visit to share their skills and knowledge. Most of the people who came from the United States received stipends or living allowances while they were in New Zealand. The American graduate students who came here were often guided by the NZ-US Educational Foundation to an institution appropriate to their area of study. The graduates seldom came to gain doctorates. They returned to America to do that. Senior scholars or visiting lecturers often came to take up particular assignments in universities, government departments and research institutes. For American Fulbrighters the choice was not so much an institution but rather what country they wished to go to. There are many countries in which Fulbright programmes operate and to which Americans may apply. The basic appeal of New Zealand appears to have been its remoteness and the fact that the natives spoke English.

Robin Winks reports how a professor suggested to him that he should apply for a Fulbright and told him some of the places he could go to. He applied to New Zealand which, he said,

> Combined my interests nicely : a frontier experience, a potential for comparison of white settler/native interaction in different settler societies, the chance to learn an exotic language (Maori), the possibility that most research would be in the language I knew best, and not incidentally, the likelihood of travelling around the world.[3]

New Zealanders were not going to a remote and exotic land. They were going to the hub of the modern world. On their return they would add to the total sum of cliches by talking of the excitement of New York (actually, it probably scared most of them stiff), the hospitality, the scenery (Grand Canyon is obligatory viewing) and Americans' commitment to work. The Americans in their turn talked of the hospitality, the scenery and the relaxed pace of life in New Zealand, a belief based I suspect on the custom of morning and afternoon tea breaks and on being able to find a car park more easily than one can in Chicago or Los Angeles.

Yet it is possible to get past the cliches. Although America is a vast and varied country (cliche again) New Zealanders trod particular paths and went to specific places. I want to look first at where the New Zealand graduate students and the senior scholars went. What determined their choices? For the graduate students there was one over-riding principle; the Ivy League principle. I will quote from questionnaire responses.

> 'I wanted to do a PhD at a good university and be granted a good fellowship to go there.'
>
> 'I went to Cornell to study history. It's well known, Ivy League, East Coast – and Harvard turned me down.'

The expertise of a special department or research institute was the reason offered by many of those in areas of applied science.

> 'The University of Rochester was strong on dental research.'
>
> 'Chose one of the best three for high pressure hydrothermal silicate equilibrium.'

There were also the price signal reasons;

> 'The two best for civil engineering were Berkeley and the University of Illinois; the latter offered tuition and fee waivers.'

There were also personal reasons;

> 'I went to the University of Colorado which is a good school for astrophysics and I was keen on the outdoors.'

And finally, chance;

> 'I applied to several and was accepted by some. MIT was the best place that accepted me. I turned down a British award because they wanted to send me to Brighton and I thought that was only a beach.'

The senior scholars, not being in the market for degrees, did not find the prestige of the institution quite so compelling. They looked also for soul mates, academic colleagues with whom they could share ideas, from whom they could expect support and with whom they might write joint papers.

The New Zealanders were less likely to see themselves as ambassadors for their countries than the Americans did although both groups did their best to correct misconceptions (this was an American concern) or cure ignorance (this was a New Zealander concern).

FIELDS OF STUDY

The fields of study for each type of award are ranked in Table 1 according to numbers of persons in each.[4] The pattern for graduates and senior scholars was not the same and so I shall show them separately.

TABLE 1
FIELDS OF STUDY

Field	Graduates	Field	Senior Scholars
Maths	43	Medicine & Dentistry	27
Engineering	42	Earth Science	23
Law	35	Education	19
Agriculture	27	Chemistry	18
Chemistry	27	Physics	12
Education	25		
Medicine & Dentistry	23	Agriculture	10
Physics	22	Engineering	8
Management	17		
Earth Science	16	Maths	8
Other	184	Other	61
	461		**186**

The numbers of graduate students in the first three decades were comparable (125, 130, 122). In the last 'decade', (actually 8 years), the number of graduates was slightly less. The numbers of senior scholars over the four periods were comparable. There were some marked changes in area of study over the decades. Amongst the graduates, education and agriculture declined while law and management increased. The decade changes were much less marked for the senior scholars. For them, only education appears to have declined.

In the first decade the leading fields of study for graduate students were *agriculture*, *medicine* and *dentistry*, and *education*. In the second decade the leading fields were *maths*, *engineering* and *agriculture*. In the third decade the leading fields were *engineering*, *law*, *physics*, *medicine* and *dentistry*. In the fourth decade the leading field was *law*.

INSTITUTIONS ATTENDED

Where did the Fulbrighters go? Table 2 summarises the institutions attended by New Zealand graduate students and senior scholars. The graduates had attended 102 different institutions of higher learning and the senior scholars 81. Forty eight percent of the graduates went to 10 institutions. The senior scholars did not gravitate to the prestige institutions to quite the same extent. Apart from Harvard and Berkeley which are at the top of both, the two lists are not the same.

TABLE 2
INSTITUTIONS ATTENDED

Institution	**Graduates**	**Institution**	**Senior Scholars**
Harvard	56	Harvard	14
Berkeley	31	Berkeley	10
Wisconsin	21	Columbia	8
Cornell	20		
MIT	20	Illinois	7
Illinois	20	Michigan (Ann Arbor)	5
CIT	15	Michigan State College East Lansing	5
University of Chicago	14	Minnesota	5
Pennsylvania	13	Yale	5
Princeton	13	UCLA	5
Other	238	Other	122
	461		**186**

The number of graduate students (56) who studied at Harvard equalled the number who went to seven campuses of the University of California. The graduates also clustered in particular schools within universities while the senior scholars, even when they went to the same universities as the graduates, tended to be spread across departments and disciplines.

There were trends over time in the institution attended. For graduates, Harvard, MIT and the University of California at Davis were steady state institutions. At Duke University, Berkeley, and Wisconsin numbers of graduates have declined. For the senior scholars, numbers have declined only at Columbia University. Law and engineering graduates clustered in particular institutions, agricultural graduates showed some clustering and mathematicians were dispersed.

The leading institution for law was the Harvard Law School, for the graduate engineers it was the California Institute of Technology with Berkeley second. For the agriculture graduates it was the University of California's agricultural college, Davis. But Davis attracted only 7 of the agriculture graduates, Cornell had 5 and the rest were distributed across 11 other institutions.

There were 43 mathematics graduates spread across 20 institutions of whom the greatest number (6) went to MIT and the next greatest to Harvard (5).

LAW GRADUATES

Finally an examination of where the lawyers went (Table 3).

Changes in areas of study and institutions attended must be seen in relation to the expansion and diversification of New Zealand's own university system, the attraction of awards offered under provisions other than the Fulbright programme, the drawing power of institutions in other countries and the policies of the board of the NZ-US Educational Foundation. Nevertheless the power and influence of Harvard are overwhelming in the training of New Zealand graduate students on the Fulbright awards.

TABLE 3
LAW GRADUATES BY INSTITUTION

Harvard	17
Yale	4
Chicago	3
Tufts	3
Virginia	3
Michigan	2
Cornell	2
Illinois	1
	35

There are hierarchies in the institutions in which graduates and senior scholars congregated, and hierarchies in the areas of study. Harvard scores high on both. The influence of Harvard is strengthened not only by the numbers but because it harboured so many of our people from the same field of study – the law.

The impression gained from the New Zealand replies to the questionnaire was that New Zealanders returned full of admiration for the results of the United States institutions of higher learning, for the professionalism and commitment of Americans to scholarship, for the number of world authorities on just about any subject gathered in any one institution, and for the way in which the academic industry was organised. Along with that went the realisation that despite the better facilities and the advantages of size and wealth compared with those to be found at home, the New Zealanders generally found that they were accepted and were able to hold their own with what they viewed as America's best.

REASONS FOR CHOICE

The New Zealanders were drawn to famous centres of learning and to scholars named on the spines of texts they had been set for undergraduate courses in New Zealand. These were the intellectual drawcards in America. New Zealand had drawcards of a rather different kind for the Fulbrighters coming in this direction. It's a difference between landscape and mindscape. I'll let an American graduate tell us what New Zealand has;

> 'New Zealand is an excellent place to study earthquakes because there are so many.'

Not just earthquakes, we've also got tectonic systems, volcanoes, fissures in the earth's crust and jets of steam. We have highly developed methods of managing and processing features of the landscape and persuading animals to thrive up on it. Landscape is not portable. Those who want to study it have to stay close and so centres of excellence begin to emerge in association with it. Following are some comments from Americans on our centres of excellence;

> 'The DSIR Fats Research Division under Shorland and Barton.'
>
> 'The marine laboratory in Otago under Dr Elizabeth Batham is famous.'

> 'Professor David Lloyd is a world authority on the evolution of plants.'
>
> 'Professor Cotton and geomorphology.'
>
> 'The Geothermal Institute – their work is renowned.'
>
> 'Ruakura – Dr Cunningham.'
>
> 'The Geological Survey and expeditions to the Antarctic.'

Along with their studies Americans climbed New Zealand mountains, scoured our coasts and experienced living in the remoter parts of our land.

But artifacts of the mind also attracted them. Take the Turnbull Library's holdings for instance. I quote from a senior scholar who went there;

> 'The biological impact of humans, Maori and Pakeha, is clearer in New Zealand, than perhaps anywhere else.'

There has been interest amongst Americans in our Accident Compensation provisions and our race relations and our political system. While we cannot compete with the refinement of the mindscape that is possible in highly developed, well-endowed institutions of higher learning in countries with large populations, we do have landscape and centres of world standing related to this. And we have our own cultural artifacts.

FULBRIGHT AND MATRIMONY

One of the questions we asked in the survey was, 'Did any of the friends you made become a spouse or partner?' There were a lot of answers along the lines of, 'If only I'd stayed longer who knows'. Then there was the enigmatic 'sorry' leaving one to wonder whether this was inability to answer in the positive or was expressing lingering regret for missed opportunities. We inserted the word 'partner' to avoid raising the ire of those who today prefer to think of a relationship in these terms. It was too much for one of our Fulbrighters. He wrote;

> Someone in the preparation of this questionnaire has taken an action that should be condemned by New Zealand authorities!

Anyway, the questionnaire return shows that 29 percent of the unmarried New Zealand men married compared with 17 percent of the unmarried American men. Smaller proportions of the New Zealand and American women respectively found partners, that is, husbands. New Zealand men were the most likely to find someone while on the award; the explanation probably lies in the fact that New Zealand men spent more time away than the other population groups. One spent eleven years in the United States. There have been far fewer women than men on awards and hardly any married women have gone except on the short travel awards. Many men, however, went with their families.

I have done no more than touch on some of the findings of the survey. The institutions attended show where good news is likely to have originated and the areas of study suggest the likelihood of topics. Perhaps, acquiring a mate should also be placed in the good news category.

References

1 In Arthur Power Dudden and Russell R. Dynes (Eds.), *The Fulbright Experience 1946-1986*, New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1987.

2 The study was carried out by Geraldine McDonald, Pam Kennedy, and Barb Bishop. Joan Druett reported some of the material obtained through the questionnaire in her account of the New Zealand Fulbright Programme *Fulbright in New Zealand*, Wellington: NZ-US Educational Foundation, 1988.

3 Dudden and Dynes, op. cit.

4 The fields of study were based on the *Dewey Decimal Classification and Relative Index*, edition 19, 1979.

7

BRIDGES OR BARRIERS? THE ROLE OF SCHOOLS IN CULTURALLY DIVERSE SOCIETIES

Lily Wong Fillmore

The problem:

Several years ago, Yasuhiro Nakasone, who was then Prime Minister of Japan, offered his views on why Japanese school children consistently outperform American children in academic subjects such as math, science and language. 'Our average (achievement) score is much higher than those of countries like the United States', he said. 'There are many Blacks, Puerto Ricans and Mexicans in America. In consequence the average score over there is exceedingly low' (*Time*, October 6, 1986). He later added that Japanese schools are more successful in educating students because they do not have to contend with the cultural and ethnic diversity found in American schools. For that reason, Japan enjoys near universal literacy while the United States has much lower literacy rates and levels of educational attainment, according to Mr Nakasone.

I am sure you can guess how grateful Americans were to know Mr Nakasone's views on this matter. We thanked him, of course, for sharing his perspectives with us on these vexing issues – and then, we talked about a general boycott of Japanese products. In the end, Mr Nakasone realized he had mis-spoken; he did not mean to say what people thought he said. He issued an explanation if not an outright apology – and Americans resumed their consumption of Sony Walkman tape-players and Honda sedans. The furore raised by Mr Nakasone's comments made the evening news for well over a week. The affair received just about as much media attention as an earthquake in downtown Tokyo might have gotten. For days on end, politicians and educators paraded before the news media commenting on Mr Nakasone's gaffe, as it was called.

While nearly everyone expressed indignation at the racist tone of his remarks, no one challenged his premise. No one questioned the assertion that American education is in a state of crisis because of the increasing diversity of the students it serves.

In this presentation, I will address some educational issues related to student diversity. Schools in countries like the United States play a quite different role in the socialisation of children than do schools in countries like Japan. Japan is essentially a monocultural and monolingual society. Schools in such places perform one major task, and that is to teach children the skills, attitudes, and knowledge they will need as adult members of the society. In culturally diverse societies like the United States, the schools have an additional role. Not only do they have to prepare children for jobs and other adult responsibilities, they also prepare children from diverse language and cultural backgrounds for membership in the society by socialising them in a common language and culture. That additional task adds considerable complexity to the work of educators, and raises a number of issues that are not easily resolved. American schools, unlike Japanese schools, cannot assume that children have had the same early experiences, or speak the language of school. They cannot assume that the children are equally well prepared for the school experience. Though on a different scale, to be sure, these issues of student diversity are of concern to New Zealand educators, too. New Zealand, as I understand it, has an increasingly diverse population as a result of recent immigration of Pacific Islanders, Asians and other groups.

The United States, always a diverse society, is having one of the greatest influxes of immigrants in its history during the present decade. A half-million legal and from two to three hundred thousand undocumented (or illegal) immigrants and refugees enter the United States each year (Passel, 1985; Haney, 1987). The present influx is second only to the one that took place between 1900 and 1910 when over eight million immigrants came to the United States, largely from central and southern Europe. If immigration projections are accurate (for legal immigrants, refugees and undocumented immigrants), we will come close to that record figure during this decade. These newcomers come from quite different sources than the earlier immigrants. They come largely from Mexico, Central and South America, the Caribbean, and Asia. Some 40 percent of the most recent immigrants are from Latin America and 40 percent are from Asia. The Latinos are chiefly from Mexico, but they also come from Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua. The Asians are largely from the Philippines, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and the various Chinas. The new immigrants are quite different from earlier groups. Few of them know English. Their average educational level is about six years of schooling, and they tend to come from the lower socio-economic strata of their countries of origin (NCAS Immigrant Project, 1988).

The current wave of immigration, which began some twenty years ago, has had an enormous impact on the population in many parts of the United States. Some 28 percent of the immigrants head for California. These newcomers, added to an already large minority population in California, will soon comprise a solid majority in the state. Minority groups already outnumber the so-called majority white population in a number of regions in California. The new immigrants tend to settle in already densely populated states – chiefly Texas, Florida, New York, Illinois, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Michigan. Large cities in these states receive the largest share of immigrants. New York City has the largest overall number, Los Angeles the second largest. Puerto Ricans are the largest group in New York, Mexicans are the largest in Los Angeles.

The children of these newcomers have put a considerable strain on the American educational system. In San Francisco where I do much of my research in schools, over a third of the school district's 65,000 students are recent immigrants, and are limited in English proficiency. The immigrant students in the district come from some twenty different language backgrounds. The district takes in some 6,000 newcomers each year, some 30 percent are Chinese, another 30 percent are Hispanics, and 12.5 percent are Filipinos. These numbers are small, compared to figures for the largest city in the state, Los Angeles. There were some 260,000 limited English proficient (LEP) students enrolled in Los Angeles schools during the last school year. That number represents a doubling of the LEP population over the past ten years in the city.

Needless to say, the population changes in the society and its schools have had a major impact on education. Dropout rates, always high for some minority groups (Steinberg et al., 1982), are currently at unacceptably high levels. Illiteracy rates are growing. An estimated 23 to 27 million American adults, or 10 percent of all Americans, are said to be 'functionally illiterate' – incapable of handling the reading and writing demands of their daily lives. Recent studies (for example, Goodlad, 1984; Sizer, 1984; Hirsch, 1987) have shown that American schools are not doing as good a job of educating students as they could or should. The list of problems cited in these studies includes unmotivated students and burnt-out teachers, a growing fragmentation of the curriculum, a lack of concern with the development of higher order thinking skills and, in its place, a near obsession with the lowest level of skill development – that is, for the development of 'basic skills'.

Those are the problems we face – but at the same time, the situation is not unrelievedly grim. The newcomers to our society have added immeasurably to the human resources of the American society. They contribute an optimism that drives the society forward and keeps it young. Their talent and ambition have revived the economies and social life of the communities in which they have settled. These communities are bursting at the seams, but they are also vibrant with a new energy and sparkle. The United States has gained much from these periodic infusions of talent and vitality – and the society will no doubt profit as much from these newcomers as it has from earlier immigrants. For the present, however, we wrestle with the problems associated with incorporating these new Americans into the fold.

Let us consider several major issues that have proven to be the most complex, and how they have been or could be addressed. The ones I will discuss in this presentation involve language and culture primarily, although these are by no means the only ones that we face.

LANGUAGE ISSUES

Estimates of the number of LEP students in American schools vary from 3.5 to 5.5 million. The reason for uncertainty of this magnitude is partly because estimators work with quite different standards in categorizing students as limited English proficient, and partly because there has not been much of an effort at the national level to keep count of LEP students.

These students have presented an enormous challenge to the schools they attend. How can children who do not speak the language of the classroom be instructed? Everyone agrees that they should be taught English, but how are they to be taught the other subjects they have to learn while they are in the process of learning English? Until 20 years ago, LEP students were schooled entirely in English. They were sometimes provided help in learning English and sometimes not. Most of them muddled through as best as they could, and they eventually learned English. The rate of school failure for non-English background students has always been high, especially for certain groups. Recent figures from the U. S. Census Bureau indicate that only 51 percent of Hispanics over the age of 25 have completed high school, compared to 78 percent of all Americans.

American educators have put considerable thought and effort in finding solutions to the linguistic problems of LEP students. Since 1974, schools have been required by the Courts to provide linguistic assistance to students who do not speak English well enough to profit from instruction given in that language. The U. S. Supreme Court ruled in a case brought on behalf of Chinese students who were not receiving any help to deal with the language demands of school, that schools had an obligation to provide help in the form of English instruction, tutoring or native language support (U. S. Supreme Court, 414 U. S. 563). Various instructional approaches have been proposed as ways of filling this obligation.

Bilingual education has been the most important among these approaches. It has also been one of the most controversial educational experiments in our history. Bilingual education, as you may know, is an instructional approach whereby LEP students are instructed for a part of the day in the language of their home, and a part of the day in the language they have to learn. Its proponents – of which I am one – believe that it is the most pedagogically sound way to meet the educational and linguistic needs of students who are not proficient in the language of the school. It allows them to deal with the curriculum in a language they already know and speak, and it offers them time and opportunity to learn the language of the school. It has multiple goals; namely, to allow language minority students to keep up with their school work while they are learning English, to enable them to learn English, and to help them maintain and develop mature skills in their primary languages. The first two goals are crucial to the educational development of the students; the third is essential to their membership in their primary communities. Ideally, both languages are used for teaching subject matter in about equal parts. When English is used, it should be used in a way that enables the students to learn it as a second language.

When bilingual instruction is done well, students can learn the subject matter and skills they are supposed to learn in school and English as a second language as well. In practice, however, it is not always done well, and students get no more from the experience than they would in any other classroom. In a large study of second language learning conducted in bilingual and English only classrooms, my colleagues and I found that there was often little to distinguish those that were described by administrators as 'bilingual' classes, and ones that were not. We found a reluctance and sometimes an inability in bilingual teachers to use the students' language for instructional purposes. The texts were in English, and the teachers taught almost exclusively in English. The other languages (Cantonese in half of the classes we studied, Spanish in the other half) was rarely used in most places. The average percentage of class time in which the home language was used was eight percent. Needless to say, that little usage hardly qualifies a class to be a bilingual programme – but that was what was prescribed by law, and the children were receiving bilingual education in name if not in fact.

You may be wondering, why are teachers engaging in such a charade? Why are the children not being given a real bilingual education experience if that is what they are supposed to be getting? The answer to these questions is a complicated one – one that would perplex anyone who would like to understand the linguistic situation in the United States. As noted above, bilingual education has been a controversial instructional approach from its inception. Mention it in any group of people – friends, strangers, relatives, old, young, educated or uneducated – and you will unleash a heated debate over its merits. Scarcely anyone you meet is without an opinion on the matter – whether they know anything about it or not. Invariably, someone will argue: 'Look, these people just want everything handed to them. If they want to be in the United States, they had darn well better learn English. Bilingual education is just a cop-out – a way to avoid learning English.' Someone else will add, 'People didn't use to need help learning English – why do these people need help now? My grandparents/uncles/parents/ what-have-you came to this country not knowing a word of English. Well, it took them just a little while to learn English; they were willing to make sacrifices.' The sentiments they express suggest that the present immigrants do not want to learn English, and bilingual education allows them to avoid it. They also suggest that today's immigrants are different from earlier ones in their commitment to the American ideal of a common language and a common culture. The vehemence one detects in such remarks, however, comes from a much deeper source. It comes from the American psyche in which there is a real ambivalence about the acceptability of a linguistically pluralistic society – and that is what many Americans believe bilingual education will result in eventually. Throughout the country, there has been a fierce backlash against bilingual education – and against bilingualism in general. In California two years ago, the voters passed an initiative by a three-quarters majority, making English the one and only official language of California, and prohibiting the use of languages other than English in public affairs. Shortly thereafter, the legislation requiring schools to provide bilingual education for LEP children in California schools was retired without renewal. Throughout the country there are proposed laws like California's initiative being considered which would make English the official language in other states. The U. S. English movement – as it is called – wants nothing less than a constitutional amendment which establishes the United States as a monolingual society. It is already, of course. One can travel the length and breadth of the country and not need any language other than English. Most immigrants want to learn English and they do whatever they can to do so. No one doubts the need to learn English, no one questions its value – but for most adult immigrants, it will not happen quickly or easily.

For the children, it is easier. School is the place where they come into contact with teachers and English speaking children, from whom they can learn the new language. At the same time, however, they have to learn everything else that the society expects its children to learn. It will take them time to learn English – from two to seven years is what children seem to need to master a second language. What do they do while they are learning it? And this is the dilemma that led to bilingual education. As noted above, it is a pedagogically sound approach – but in many places it has not been given much of a chance since many people, including teachers and the school administrators who are in charge of these programmes, do not believe in them and have not implemented them properly. I raised the question earlier – why do teachers who work in these programmes engage in the charade of teaching in bilingual programmes but not bilingually? In many schools, teachers are assigned to teach in these programmes whether or not they are linguistically qualified to be in them. Or they may not believe in bilingual programmes, but with the shift in the school's student body, they have no option but to teach in them. Needless to say, this has been a problem for bilingual education. Policy makers and the public in general have pointed out that these programmes do not work – they do not produce notably better results than ordinary English only classes do. As I have found, however, that is hardly a surprising result, since there is little to distinguish most bilingual classes from English monolingual classes.

The bilingual education question is a troubling one for American educators. If bilingual education is an unacceptable or ineffective way to instruct language minority students, what alternatives are there? Clearly, English as a second language instruction is not, by itself, a solution. There remains the problem of teaching LEP students the other subjects of school. Some sort of accommodation is necessary since children cannot learn materials in a language they do not understand.

A proposal that is being considered currently as a solution for the problems presented by young LEP students may have some highly undesirable consequences. The proposal which is being made by policy makers rather than educators, is this: *Set up preschool programmes for children from immigrant families, in which they can be immersed in English. The younger they are, the faster they can learn English as a second language. At age 3 or 4, children are linguistic sponges. They can learn English in a year or less. By the time they enter kindergarten they will not need bilingual education or any help with English because they will be English speakers!* For the policy maker, this is a quick and easy fix for a big problem. The foregoing, while just a proposal, is a de facto policy in many places. As noted above, most non-English speaking children are already being schooled exclusively in English. What makes this proposal dangerous is the age of the children who are being targeted.

The consequences of this movement are great. The danger is not that preschool children will have difficulty learning English or that they will have trouble in school because they do not know the language of instruction. The real danger is that they can manage it so easily. Children between ages two and four are in prime time for language learning. All human children are biologically predisposed to learn the language of their caretakers. The predisposition to learn language is nature's way of insuring that children will acquire a system of communication for interacting with, and learning from their primary group – namely, their parents and other family members. During that period, children learn whatever language is spoken to them – whether it is a grammatically complex language like Russian or Spanish, or a relatively simple one like English or Chinese. They can, in fact, learn more than one language as long as the social environment supports those languages. In the preschool period, children need no 'instructional assistance' from their teachers to learn a new language. They can do it on their own in just a year or so, just by being around people who speak it, provided these speakers are willing to interact with them in the new language. In fact, they can become native-like almost effortlessly. So what's wrong with this proposal? The problem confronting these children is to maintain their mother tongue as they learn English. Countless children from non-English speaking families in the United States have lost their mother tongues as they learned English in school. They do not become bilinguals by learning English, capable of communicating in both their home and school languages. Instead, English replaces the language of the home, sometimes even before English has been fully mastered. One might wonder how children can lose their first language so easily, especially when parents speak nothing but that language at home. It is easy, when the new language enjoys a status advantage over the home language as English does in the United States and in New Zealand as well.

Young children are keenly aware of status differences. They can sense the position of their family or primary group, relative to the larger community. For many minority or immigrant families, that position is one of low status. When children are exposed to English in school, they come to associate it with their teachers and English-speaking playmates. English represents the social world of the school and of the larger community: it is the means by which children can enter that world. There are no external forces that can equal the internal pressures motivating the children to learn English in societies like ours; the need to belong, and the desire not to be different. For many, if not most immigrant children, the home language comes to symbolize the social and cultural barriers to easy participation in the social world outside of the home. As they learn English, they put aside the language of the home. Some children simply stop using their primary language once they have learned enough English to get by.

A well-documented case of a child doing just that was reported by Ruth Berman (1979). Berman found her four-year-old daughter, Shelli, rejecting the use of Hebrew after just a few months in an English speaking environment. Shelli accompanied her parents, an Israeli academic couple, on a year-long sabbatical visit to the United States. After just six weeks in an American nursery school, Shelli refused to speak Hebrew any longer with her parents. She had picked up just enough English to interact with playmates and to communicate with her parents when she switched to speaking in English only. After a short time, she had learned enough English so that her ability in her new language was roughly equal to the English proficiency of her three-and-a-half-year-old American playmates. Her rapid second language learning was not without cost, however. Over the course of the year, Shelli lost her ability to speak or understand her mother tongue. Berman reports that Shelli appeared genuinely not to understand her parents when they spoke to her in Hebrew, and would not tolerate anyone else speaking to her in that language.

In interviews with the Vietnamese parents of the immigrant children whose acquisition of English I have studied, there have been many reports of similar such shifts taking place in the language behaviour of the children. One woman, who unlike Shelli's mother, could not speak English, reported that her children no longer understand anything she says except for the most rudimentary sorts of things – *Come eat dinner; go to bed; wash your hands*, and the like.

How is that possible? It appears that a primary language may not be firmly seated or anchored, as it were, until children are seven or eight years of age. It is subject to loss, as we have found repeatedly in studies of immigrant children learning English. Berman's Shelli was more fortunate. After a year in the United States, the family returned to Israel, and Shelli eventually relearned Hebrew. Once immigrant children who live in the United States lose their first language, it is gone. Most children who learn English in the early years of school lose their mother tongue eventually. Few manage to retain it, or to remain proficient in its use in societies that are as militantly monolingual as the United States.

How big a loss is this? Should we, as educators, be concerned about the fate of minority languages? The school's responsibility is to help language minority students learn the language of the society. Whose responsibility is it to help them preserve the minority language? Is it even desirable for them to do so? A preschool teacher recently commented, 'Look, these kids need to learn English. So what if they lose their first language? In this world, you gotta give something to get something! They lose their mother tongue but they gain English, and with it, access to what they can learn in school. That's not such a big price,' she argued.

But what of the lessons to be learned in the home? Will children have access to what parents can teach them if they no longer understand them? This is not a problem for the children of bilingual parents. In such cases, it is sad, but not tragic when the familial language is lost. Communication in the home switches to English, and the parents can carry on as before. But in homes where the parents do not speak English what is lost are the means of imparting the values, beliefs, and understandings that the children need in order to remain in the primary community. The loss goes beyond communication; family closeness and unity are also lost. This loss of closeness

114

in immigrant families is not an inevitable part of the assimilation process. The school is not responsible for maintaining family closeness or cultures, but it should not do anything to endanger them either. Proposals like the one under discussion in the United States do just that.

CULTURAL ISSUES

Let us consider cultural issues in the education of students in diverse societies. Over the past decade, my research has focused on the educational and linguistic adjustment of Hispanic and Asian students in California schools. My goal has been to understand individual and group differences in language learning and academic performance. Before these children can participate fully in school, they have to learn English, and they must somehow adjust to the school culture. Some of them seem to make the necessary adjustments readily enough, many others do not. Particularly striking is the role ethnicity and culture seem to play in these differences.

The Chinese (and indeed, most Asian children including Filipinos) generally perform well above school district norms in English reading achievement tests – despite their limited English ability. Their median percentile scores are from 10 to 15 points above the norm across the grades. In math, these children are amazing. Their scores hover around the 90th percentile line from the first to the twelfth grade. Hispanics, Cambodians and Laotians perform consistently below district norms in reading and in math.

What sense can we make of these differences? Is it a matter of intelligence? Do socio-economic factors explain the differences? Do some groups simply value education more than others? The answer to all these questions seems to be NO.

The group differences we find do not appear to be intellectual. In working with these children closely, looking at evidence other than achievement test scores, I have been impressed by the apparent normality of the distribution of intellectual talents both within and between these groups. The differences do not appear to be socio-economic. Nearly all of the children my colleagues and I have studied come from the lower SES strata of their originating societies. Nor are the differences motivational especially. In doing home observations and interviews, we have found the parents in these groups to be supportive of education and uniformly hopeful that their offspring will go on to college. We have found no group differences in motivation or in aspiration for higher education.

The ease with which children enter the educational process depends to a large extent on the match between the world of the home and the world of the school. The problem is that few educators are prepared to deal with the diversity of cultural experience found in their classrooms. Instructional programmes tend to be monolithic in approach – including ones that are said to be multicultural. Moreover, teachers of minority group students all too often assume that their charges are incapable of handling the usual content of school without massive remediation, and so they give them heavy doses of basic skills in place of any academic substance. Thus in classrooms serving minority group or immigrant students, one finds a near absence of intellectual content. Children are taught to decode, but not to read or to make sense of texts. Many of the children we have studied are unaware that the written word can serve as a source of ideas or information. This was as true for the Chinese children as it was for the Hispanic, notwithstanding the differences in their reading test scores.

The kind of education that minority group children are given in many American schools is not appropriate for any of them, but some are less handicapped by it, at least in the short run. The academic performance of Asian-American students has been so remarkable that there have been numerous stories about it in the national news media. They are well represented among the students at most major American universities. At the University of California, Berkeley, which draws its students from the top 15 percent of the state's high school graduates, 27 percent of the undergraduates are Asian-Americans. Asians constitute less than 8 percent of California's total population. Their high school completion rates (77 percent) are higher than those of the population at large.

At the same time, the apparent success of even the Asian students masks the fact that many of them leave high school unprepared to deal with the type of thinking and work expected of them in the university or on the job. A study of the academic progress of Asian immigrant students conducted on the Berkeley campus about five years ago showed a negative correlation between grade point average and length of residence in the

United States. In other words, the longer these students have been in the American school system before entering the university, the more poorly they do there. On the job, they are valued for their diligence and dependability, but they tend not to get promoted or to be placed in positions of leadership because they are judged to be unimaginative, inarticulate and non-assertive.

The two most important cultural differences we have found in the groups my colleagues and I have studied closely are of two main sorts – those having to do with locating the responsibility for successful learning, and with the transition from childhood to adulthood.

There are rather considerable differences between groups in respect to the conditions that foster successful learning. Chinese children see learning as an individual endeavour and responsibility, whereas Hispanic children regard it as a more collaborative activity. We have found that Hispanic children are far more sensitive to the quality of teaching than are Asian children. The Hispanic children in our studies thrived academically when their teachers challenged them intellectually with rich and involving content, when their teachers expected a high level of performance from them, and when their teachers were enthusiastic about the materials they were teaching. It seems that Hispanic children do their best when their teachers are good models for them. When their teachers are confusing, or boring, or when they stress meaningless drill and practice, these children do not perform well at all (Wong Fillmore, et al. , 1985).

The Chinese children in our studies were much less sensitive to the quality of the instruction their teachers provided. These children seemed to regard drill and practice as the substance and purpose of the school experience, and they tended to compensate for teacher quality by paying closer attention when their teachers were confusing or uninteresting. Their culture, it seems, places the responsibility for learning on the learner. Chinese culture makes few allowances for individual differences in ability. Parents tell their children: 'There is no such thing as can't. Anyone can learn to do anything. The difference between can and can't is effort. If you fail, it is your fault. You have not tried hard enough. '

Another striking cultural difference across the immigrant groups whose educational adjustment we have studied has to do with how long children are viewed as children. Schooling, from the perspective of many groups, is kid stuff. It's a luxury to go to school: it's something that individuals can indulge in only while they are still children. As soon as people are beyond that period, they have to take on adult responsibilities. The period of childhood seems to be a lot longer for Asians than for Hispanics or Blacks. Asian parents see their offspring as children well beyond the adolescent years. Children have one major responsibility during childhood: they prepare themselves for adult responsibilities by getting job training or an education. Parents make necessary allowances for children if they are engaged in school work. In the Hispanic families we have studied, childhood ends somewhere in the mid-adolescent years. The families want their children to get as much education as they can, but it stops being a priority when they reach adolescence. Then, if there are pressing family needs, the children are expected to take on those responsibilities. Such obligations generally take precedence over everything else in the lives of the children.

What do American schools do to address such differences in cultural patterns? In general, they do little if anything. The general view is that children from low-achieving groups like Hispanics do poorly in school because there is something deficient in their preparation or motivation for school. Asian children are thought to do well because their families value and are supportive of education. This is not to say that the educational needs of Hispanic students are ignored. There are many special programmes for them – but most of them are remedial in orientation. That, as colleagues and I have found, is exactly what these children do not need.

ACCOMMODATIONS

Schools in societies like ours can either be bridges or barriers. They can be the means by which the minority group members move between their primary communities and the larger society, or they can be the means to keep minorities from fully participating in one or another of these worlds. When schools serve as barriers to participation, the society is the poorer for it.

Let us consider what schools can and should do to accommodate the needs of culturally and linguistically diverse students. There are at least several ways to accommodate diversity in the schools. The first is to adjust what is taught in schools according to the special needs of the particular groups. Most such efforts, although well-meant, have been misguided. For example, minority group children are often given watered down instructional programmes or ones that offer them materials that are drawn entirely from their own cultures. The rationale given for these kinds of adjustments is that the regular curriculum is inappropriate or irrelevant for these children. The problem is that such programmes do not provide minority group children with the common curriculum of the society. They are not getting the education that will allow them to participate fully in the intellectual life of the community they live in. In other cases, the adjustments amount to a less than adequate coverage of the curriculum, and hence less of an education than they need.

A quite different way of accommodating cultural diversity is to consider adjustments in the way instruction is organized and presented, the models of instruction that are used, the structure of the learning and social environment in the classroom, and the roles and relations of teachers and students. Such efforts must be based on careful studies of the cultural patterns of groups served by the school. A highly successful model for making such adjustments can be found in the Hawaiian Kamehameha Early Education Programme, or KEEP as it is called. The two decades of research and development that enabled KEEP educators to create a programme which is tailored precisely to the cultural needs of native Hawaiian children have been documented recently by Roland Tharp and Ronald Gallimore (in press). Tharp and Gallimore show how, through a gradual adjustment of the school environment, KEEP developed a programme which enabled Hawaiian children to move from among the lowest achieving groups in the country to a place at or slightly above national norms in all measures of academic achievement. One example will show the kind of adjustments that can make a big difference in the educational experience of children.

Over time, many changes were made in the structure of the classroom environment, the way classroom discourse was managed, the way reading was taught, and the management of the instructional setting as the research team discovered what was needed. They gave the children a role in managing their own learning activities and the classroom environment, for example. An open door policy was adopted allowing the children to come to school before class (as early as 6.30 in the morning!) to do the chores associated with setting up the classroom for instruction, and with its upkeep. This practice was instituted when it was learned that native Hawaiian children have a need, because of the way they have been reared, to organize and structure their own physical and social environment. In this culture, parents and other adults coordinate and oversee the day to day affairs of the family, but much of the actual work of child-rearing and of maintaining the household is carried out by children of all ages. Older children look after younger ones; they teach them to talk and to participate in the work of the family. The children, who were largely responsible for maintaining the physical environment of their own homes, had been made to feel incompetent and useless in school because their teachers insisted on structuring and controlling the classroom environment and all activities conducted in it. This was the way the Asian children liked things, but it was inappropriate for the native Hawaiian children. The open door policy, among other changes in the structure and organization of the classroom environment made a big difference to these children. It made them feel needed and useful in the classroom, and that, in turn, freed them to learn.

The problems of educating students from diverse backgrounds may seem insurmountable, but they are not. There are solutions to be found, but we must first be clear about where the problem lies.

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8

COMPENSATORY EDUCATION, HEAD START AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION: IMPLICATIONS FOR MAORI EDUCATION IN NEW ZEALAND

Kathie Irwin

He Mihi

Let me state at the outset that my paper may be somewhat different from others in this series: I have not been a Fulbright Scholar, so there will not be the recollections and reminiscences of someone reflecting on a past journey.

I agreed to speak as a part of this seminar for a number of reasons. First, Geraldine McDonald asked me to and my acceptance is based partly on the respect that I have for her and her work. Second, in her letter of invitation Geraldine mentioned that Wally Penetito would also be speaking. I also have a tremendous respect for Wally and his work, I consider it an honour to be able to listen to him and work with him. Third, the letter arrived when I was in the maternity ward of the Palmerston North Hospital, having just given birth to my second child. The invitation provided an opportunity to reflect on some ideas that have had a profound effect on Maori education in the past, and which despite the changing times, still have an impact today.

COMPENSATORY EDUCATION

Let us begin by contemplating the obvious: what is compensatory education? Compensatory education is education which is designed to compensate children for undesirable deficiencies which they have been found to have. In theory, compensatory education could be considered a form of remediation which offers real benefits to children in need of help. In practice, however, compensatory education became an overt example of institutional racism. It was used to provide a theoretical explanation for the differences between the educational outcomes of groups of children and to disguise the practices of education that help to produce those outcomes. In short, compensatory education was designed to justify inequality in education. The children considered to be in need of compensatory education were in the main black or working class, 'children... whose material circumstances are... inadequate' (Bernstein, 1970, p. 110).

During the late 1950s and early 1960s academic and professional literature on the topic of compensatory education was prolific. New educational categories appeared to label the children whose education had become such a problematic issue; the culturally deprived, the linguistically deprived and the socially disadvantaged appeared. Compensatory education emerged as an educational response which sought to change the status of these children. It promised equity in education, through programmes such as 'Head Start'.

The field was heavily influenced by psychological explanations for 'difference'. In the language of contemporary analysis, 'victim blaming' was central to compensatory education. Structural analysis was not a part of the agenda of the debate at that time.

The theoretical framework of compensatory education was an inappropriate one from which to design programmes with equity as a goal. Compensatory education is not about equity or any sense of fairness or justice. It is about maintaining inequality in society, through education, by ranking cultures and making arbitrary decisions about which cultures will be ranked the best. The process then becomes one of compensating children who are not from the best culture, for belonging to a different culture.

In practice this meant that white, middle class culture in America and New Zealand was established as the acceptable 'norm' against which every other culture would be measured. Statistics showed that some children, black, Maori and or working class, were not experiencing the same educational life chances as other, white, middle class children. This was an educational problem; it needed to be resolved for educational, political and social reasons.

At the time, the solution was sought through compensatory education; specifically in the form of 'head start' programmes.

Head start programmes aimed to take Maori, black and working class children in their pre-school years and give them the middle class white culture necessary to prepare them for school success.

Research in this area became big business in America, financed from Federal, State and private foundations. 'Head Start' was one of the major educational programmes designed to put compensatory education into practice:

> ... the most dramatic acceptance of... social responsibility came with President Lyndon Johnson's concept of the Great Society. To provide equal opportunity for all to enjoy the benefits of such a society, the educational deprivation of the poor had to be faced and overcome. For a decade Head Start preschool programmes have sprouted all over the United States and its dependent territories in many shapes and forms (Ritchie, 1978: 7).

Compensatory education denied the reality or the validity of minority cultures. Its programmes failed in the long term because their basic premise was to change the children so that they could experience success in a capitalist white world, in white terms. Maori, black and working class people soon came to see what the programmes were really doing and rejected them. Maori wanted to be successful, but not at the expense of their being Maori.

In recent years, Maori initiatives such as Te Kohanga Reo have enjoyed considerable success and the reasons for this are clear; they are real programmes of affirmative action, that is, 'strategies to make equal opportunities a reality instead of a stated ideal' [plural form of strategies my addition] (Race Relations Conciliator, 1988). Programmes such as Te Kohanga Reo are programmes of Maori development, which aim to reaffirm the cultural, economic and social base of Maoridom. They work to empower the Maori world in a Maori way.

A CRITIQUE OF THE CONCEPT OF COMPENSATORY EDUCATION

In the paper 'A critique of the concept of compensatory education', Basil Bernstein (1970) outlines three major criticisms.

First, it distracted attention from the deficiencies in the school itself. Writing about the British context, Bernstein argued that some schools did not offer sound educational programmes. Schools in some areas were materially grossly inadequate, had high turnover rates of teaching staff, used streaming arrangements which resulted in lowered expectations and motivation levels of both staff and students. In short, the students of such schools received a second rate education from the outset. He argued that the concept of compensatory education was inappropriate in such contexts for two reasons. First, the children had never been offered an acceptable standard of education and second, the role of the school in educational failure was not considered.

Second, it made judgements about supposed deficiencies within the community, family and child. The concept 'compensatory education' served to direct attention away from the internal organisation and the educational context of the school. Attention was focussed, instead, on the community, the family and the child. According to deficit/deprivation theory the child's personal and or home characteristics were the source of his/her disadvantage. It was argued that the cause of the educational failure of these children resided in the personality and character of the child, the home and or the local sub-cultures from which these children came.

Third, it pointed to the overwhelming significance of the early years of the child's life in the shaping of his/her later development. Bernstein suggested that the whole of the preschool and primary years should be viewed as one educational stage rather than the splitting up of the 3-5 and 5-7 year groups.

Rather than thinking in terms of 'compensatory education' he suggested that we should consider instead the conditions and the contexts of the educational environment.

Further, the significant questions that face education address 'the question of what counts as knowledge, the question of what counts as a valid realisation of that knowledge, the question of the organisational contexts we create for educational purposes. And for each of these questions we can add, in relation to what age?' (Bernstein, 1970, p. 121):

> We need to examine the social assumptions underlying the organisation, distribution and evaluation of knowledge, for it is not the case that there is one and only one answer to these questions. The power relationships created outside the school penetrate the organisation, distribution and evaluation of knowledge through the social context and their transmission (ibid.).

THE IMPACT OF COMPENSATORY EDUCATION ON MAORI EDUCATION IN NEW ZEALAND

Compensatory education has had a major influence on Maori education in New Zealand. New Zealand was a fertile seed bed for compensatory education. It reinforced the racist and ethnocentric policy of assimilation and was, therefore, quickly taken up by conservative New Zealand. Assimilation was ethnocentric, because it used one cultural perspective as the criterion against which all others were measured, and racist because it involved the view that Pakeha culture was superior to Maori culture and supported with the resources of the state. Compensatory education was similarly ethnocentric and racist. It offered an educational justification for institutional racism by providing a supposedly objective academic explanation of Maori educational failure. The conservative ideas of compensatory education were quickly adopted and they flourished. Indeed, they have become something of a weed in the 'garden of godzone', not easily dislodged to this day as Judith Simon's recent research so clearly shows.

In 'Good intentions, but...', Simon discusses views 'commonly held by Pakeha teachers of Maori children' (Simon, 1984, 133). The research involved open-ended interviews with principals and teachers in primary schools with significant numbers of Maori pupils on the rolls (Simon, 1986, p. 2). The article discusses views that were shared when teachers were asked 'whether the planning, organising and conducting of their school or class programmes in any way took account of the significant proportion of Maori pupils' (Simon, 1984, p. 133). Three main themes were reported in the article; the deficit view, denial of cultural differences and trivialising of Taha Maori. The language of compensatory education and deficit theory was used to describe teachers' perceptions of Maori children's education.

Simon argues that teachers do not understand the role of culture in education nor are they aware, in a political sense, of the educational implications of the imbalance of power between Maori and Pakeha.

The findings of this study suggest that compensatory education has become an ideology which is used to maintain the imbalance between Maori and Pakeha to this day. What the academics of the 1960s wrote about has not been removed from the consciousness of the teaching population of New Zealand schools. At one level, compensatory education provides a justification for poor teaching and teachers. The only alternative to accepting that failure is the lot of Maori children, is to engage in radical educational praxis which challenges and transforms racism in education. By and large, the teaching population has not been prepared to take such a challenge on.

TE KOHANGA REO AND 'AFFIRMATIVE ACTION'

From the dream of Te Kohanga Reo, first suggested by elders at a hui in Wellington in 1979, a movement of over 500 centres has grown which has led to exciting initiatives in Maori development and education. The key words to the success of Te Kohanga Reo are; immersion in Te Reo and Nga Tikanga Maori and whanau development. The immersion approach has been reaffirmed over a bilingual approach as the most thorough way to promote Maori language learning and maintenance. The management style of Te Kohanga Reo also means that the learners are immersed in an environment where Nga Tikanga Maori are practised, thus the language is also being learnt in a culturally appropriate context, often on marae. The organisational structure of Te Kohanga Reo is based on the principles of whanau development, whereby every member of the kohanga reo whanau has a role to play in the running of the centre. Through this participation, all members of the whanau are learning and growing together in the true spirit of empowerment.

> Ki aku whakaaro ma te iwi ano e pupuri te mana tuturu mo nga ahuatanga whakahaere kei roto i a ratou. Mehemea hoki ki o tatou whakaaro e he ana ta ratou whakahaere, kaua e raupatutia te mana kei a ratou engari awhinatia ratou kia mohio ai, kia tika ai, nga whakahaere.
>
> I know of no safe depository of the ultimate power of the society but the people themselves and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise

> their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion.
>
> (Thomas Jefferson)

In the spirit of the words by Thomas Jefferson, the power of the traditional Maori whanau-hapu-iwi base is reasserting itself in New Zealand society. The implications of this are far reaching as Maoridom reorganises itself to be in control of its destiny. The plans for Maori Development, set out at the Hui Taumata, the Maori Economic Development Conference, in 1984, call for 'the adoption of Maori objectives on Maori terms and the retargetting of Government funding sufficient to ensure a positive outcome' (Kathie Irwin, Frances Sutton, Rosemary Renwick and Iritana Tawhiwhirangi, 1988). Te Kohanga Reo is an example of this positive retargetting.

Te Kohanga Reo contributes to, and is supported by, the wider plans for Maori Development. Importantly, through the philosophy of whanau-hapu-iwi development, the whole tribe prospers and grows together.

This principle is central to Maori Development and listed as its first objective:

1. To strive to achieve parity between the Maori and Pakeha people of New Zealand in the areas of:
   - housing
   - education
   - land development
   - employment
   - business
   - health

   (Annex D, Board of Maori Affairs Report, 1986)

Te Kohanga Reo aims to develop bilingual and bicultural children who can start their lives confident in the knowledge of who they are, in Maori terms. The movement also aims to provide opportunities for whanau members to learn a whole range of skills together in the planning, management and day to day organisation of the kohanga reo centres. It also aims to provide whanau members with opportunities for training and employment. Such aims fulfill the second objective for Maori Development outlined at the hui Taumata, namely:

2. To strengthen Maoridom's development of identity through:
    - Maori language and the heritage of the ancestors
    - the marae
    - the Maori spiritual pathway and the Maori mind
    - tribal identity

    (ibid)

CONCLUSION

Compensatory education has had a major influence on Maori education in New Zealand. It has reinforced the racist and ethnocentric policy of assimilation, official Government policy in New Zealand until the early 1960s, and so was favourably viewed by the prevailing political and academic thinking of that time. Regrettably, as Judith Simon's (1986) research shows, it still has currency in some quarters.

Unlike the United States, we have not resorted to the courts to legislate for affirmative action. Indeed, in many contexts in New Zealand, affirmative action is still such a political issue that it cannot be discussed rationally, let alone sensibly. And yet a quiet revolution has been taking place since April 13, 1982, when the first Te Kohanga Reo was opened at Pukeatea, at one level a programme of affirmative action, at another an initiative of Maori Development. It is also a programme of Maori education, a language and cultural innovation, a whanau learning programme and an early childhood initiative. It is Te Kohanga Reo; a movement by the people, for the people to reclaim Te Reo Maori, Nga Tikanga Maori and the whanau-hapu-iwi structure of traditional Maori culture.

Te Kohanga Reo and programmes of Maori Development promise to do for Maoridom what 'compensatory education' and 'head start' could not; that is, to promote equity and social justice.

Ko Te Reo Te Mauri o Te Mana Maori

The language is the life principle of mana Maori

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9

APPLIED BEHAVIOURAL RESEARCH AND THE LEARNING OF LITERACY SKILLS

Ted Glynn

The New Zealand – United States Educational Foundation funded my four-month visit to the United States of America as a senior Fulbright Research Scholar during 1974-1975. This visit enabled me to spend time at the Department of Human Development at the University of Kansas at Lawrence, Kansas. In this Department a strong group led by Don Baer, Todd Risley, and Montrose Wolf were pursuing an exciting new approach to research in education, known as Applied Behaviour Analysis.

Applied Behaviour Analysis crossed traditional boundaries between education and psychology and unashamedly embraced intra-subject research methodology. Observable changes within individual people took centre stage. Statistical analysis of the differences between mean scores of different groups, and large-scale correlational analyses, the dominant research paradigms within education, were recognised as inappropriate or even irrelevant to many important educational questions. Questions about the design and operation of day-to-day living environments and their effects upon the behaviour and learning of individuals were not easily addressed through statistical analysis of group differences. Questions to do with the day-to-day behaviour of parents, teachers and residential staff and their effects on the behaviour and learning of people in their care were not easily addressed through statistical analysis of group differences. Questions to do with the processes of interaction between learners and teachers which critically influence learning outcomes were also not readily addressed by the analyses of those learning outcomes alone.

Baer, Wolf, Risley (1968), their colleagues and graduate students espoused the measurement of individual behaviour change as the central assessment task for researchers in education. They spearheaded the development of a number of different research designs which are now in common use within both education and psychology, such as intra-subject reversal and withdrawal designs, multiple baseline designs, and multi-element designs. All these designs share the common strategy of taking continuous repeated measures of the behaviour of individuals, in order to understand how their behaviour might change across different contexts and in response to systematic changes introduced into those contexts. Changes studied within Applied Behaviour Analysis have included staff training programmes, new curriculum materials, social interaction between individuals, alterations to the learning context, peer tutoring, and introduction of contingencies of extrinsic reinforcement.

This research paradigm has had powerful and far-reaching educational implications within the United States and overseas. It has focussed attention on the importance of everyday social interaction at home, in school, and in the community in influencing children's learning of social and intellectual skills. It has placed the responsibility for the limited progress of children and adults with behavioural and learning difficulties on the quality of their instructional contexts rather than on their disabilities or on perceived deficiencies of the families or their culture or ethnic groups. It has contributed to major advances in our understanding of classroom behaviour management, the structuring of effective learning contexts, student self-management procedures, the development of more effective pre-service and in-service teacher training programmes, and improved procedures for observing human behaviour in educational settings.

All of these developments have been reflected in the New Zealand research in Applied Behaviour Analysis over the past 20 years, and some of this work was included in the publication of the first New Zealand Conference on Research in Behaviour Analysis (Glynn and McNaughton, 1978). In the late sixties and early seventies, a number of my own graduate students at Auckland University, as well as graduate students from the University of Waikato working with Dr Barry Parsonson, and from the University of Canterbury working with Dr John Church, carried out studies in classroom management. These studies essentially replicated United States findings that teachers' social attention in the form of statements of praise and reprimand were contributing to the problem of disruptive and inattentive behaviour among students. They also replicated findings that in both primary and secondary classrooms teachers could learn to systematically alter their pattern of praise and reprimand so that students' classroom behaviour could be dramatically improved. There were a number of studies which replicated the positive effects of token reinforcement or token economies in which students' attentional behaviour and academic productivity increased sharply as a result of contingent access to an appropriate range of reinforcing events.

Early research and development at the Mangere Guidance Unit (Thomas, Pohl, Presland, and Glynn, 1977) designed to assist intermediate school teachers in South Auckland to meet the needs of children with behavioural and learning difficulties was firmly rooted in applied behavioural principles. Two resource teachers were trained in behaviour management procedures and worked together with the support of the local educational psychologist and university personnel to devise individual and whole-class behaviour change programmes for children and their teachers. As the work of this Unit progressed the team took on more of an in-service staff development role, focussing on the need to involve parents in behavioural programmes devised for their children. The Mangere Guidance Unit was a forerunner of the proposed Support Teams approach to mainstreaming children with special needs.

Another area of applied behavioural research influenced by earlier work in the United States is the training of staff in residential settings for children with behavioural and learning difficulties. This included work carried out at Salisbury School in Nelson by Dennis Standring and David Pluck of the Department of Education Psychological Service (Pluck, Glynn and Standring, 1987), at Beck House in Napier by Beryl Clark also of the Department of Education Psychological Service, and at the former

Glenburn residence and school in West Auckland by myself and colleagues from the Psychological Service (Glynn, 1983). Applied behavioural research in all these centres gathered systematic observational data on the behaviour of staff members as well as that of children and these data served as the basis for explicit individual feedback on staff performance.

However, applied behavioural research in New Zealand soon began to respond to local needs and to local concerns which differed from those in the United States of America. For example, New Zealand junior class teachers routinely need to teach their classes as separate groups, and to have several groups working independently of the teacher while teachers work either one-to-one with individuals or with one particular group. This resulted in the development of a student self-management procedure (Glynn, Thomas and Shee, 1973) in which students not working with the teacher are cued intermittently by taped signals to assess themselves as on task, and to award themselves points on a token card if they were indeed working when a signal occurred. The system proved to be effective with children as young as six and seven years.

In another example, O'Rourke and Glynn (1978) solved the problem of increasing aggression on the playground of a large intermediate school by increasing the range of play activity materials available and by encouraging adults to initiate play activities which would engage increasing numbers of children. This study did not introduce additional rewards as consequences for improved behaviour, but instead modified the context in which the problematic behaviour was occurring. This solution resulted in major reductions in the amount of playground aggression, yet allowed the adults to engage in a much more naturalistic and less controlling form of intervention.

The approach taken to the teaching of reading in New Zealand differs markedly from approaches taken in the United States. In the United States the teaching of subskills such as letter-sound combinations frequently precedes access to meaningful story material for beginning readers, while structured basal readers and formal workbook exercises preclude access to natural language texts. New Zealand children's first reading material is typically their own stories, based on their own oral language, and their first reading books are simple meaningful stories written in a style close to that of the language they hear around them. Applied behavioural research in New Zealand had to take into account the quite different theoretical bases underlying the teaching of reading while still striving to obtain data on individual behaviour change over time and across different teaching contexts. The work of McNaughton (1987) based on pioneering work by Clay (1969) is an excellent example here. McNaughton's research incorporates intra-subject comparisons of individual children's reading, and employs graphic displays of changes in rates of self-correction of errors and in oral reading accuracy in response to a range of contextual factors. These include text difficulty, prior discussion of the story, and the different ways in which teachers respond to children's errors. For example, it is now well established that teachers who intervene immediately after a child makes an oral reading error deny that child the opportunity to learn the important behavioural strategy of self-correction. Delays of teacher intervention of as little as several seconds can make all the difference between teacher-dependent inaccurate reading and child-initiated independent reading.

More recently, applied behavioural research studies in oral language learning, reading and expressive writing have focussed more intensively on the contexts in which these literacy skills are acquired (Glynn, 1985; Glynn, 1987). It is now understood that literacy skills are acquired in responsive social contexts. These are contexts in which there is a balance of control between teacher and learner, such that neither is in total control over the other. Such contexts are found in cooperative learning tasks and in tasks where there is an opportunity for both parties to gain in communicative skill. They typically allow for brief exchanges of teacher and learner roles between participants. These contexts are characterised by responsive rather than corrective feedback. That is, in learning to speak, or read, or write, learners receive feedback not so much on the accuracy or the form but on the content or message of their statements. Many school learning contexts do not qualify as responsive social contexts, but many informal learning contexts do. Peer tutoring of remedial reading, peer tutoring of children with special needs or handicapping conditions, and peer tutoring of children learning English as a second language may qualify as responsive social contexts, especially where it has been shown that there are gains in social and academic skills for tutors as well as for tutees. We learn by teaching.

While these New Zealand studies have maintained an applied behavioural focus on gathering systematic data on individual behaviour change, their conceptual base has expanded considerably. Whereas the earlier United States research regarded letters, sounds, words and errors as salient reading data to be recorded and graphed, the New Zealand studies regard self-corrections, questions, initiations, comments and contextually-appropriate miscues as salient data to be recorded. Whereas the behaviour of the individual learner was the research focus, now the behaviour of the teacher, the parent or the peer tutor are equally the focus of research attention, as are the ways in which the teacher or tutor's behaviour interacts with that of the learner. For example, the Pause, Prompt and Praise remedial reading tutoring programme incorporates observation, analysis and behavioural change for both readers and their parent or peer tutors (Glynn, McNaughton, Robinson and Quinn, 1979; McNaughton, Glynn and Robinson, 1987). Similarly, a recent approach to the behaviour analysis of expressive writing (Jerram, Glynn and Tuck, 1988; Hopman and Glynn, 1988) stresses the importance of the teacher's written response to the content or messages in children's writing. Writing is seen as an interactive social process, requiring an interested audience more than a corrector. Both the reading and writing research studies developed a clear behavioural agenda for both teacher and learner. Both receive feedback on changes in their own behaviour. Assessment of a child's progress in reading and writing thus also involves an assessment of the interactive context in which reading and writing occur. Low progress in reading or writing is not simply due to deficiencies within the child. Remedying low progress may require changes in teacher behaviour, changes in learning materials, or both.

The field of language learning presents a major challenge to contemporary educational research in New Zealand where we are all too slowly committing ourselves to bilingualism and biculturalism. We need to know what kinds of learning contexts best support second language learning, not just for children whose first language is not English, but also for pakeha children learning the original language of Aotearoa. As educators we need to be as supportive and as effective in helping children learn a second language as their parents are in helping them learn their first language. In order to respond to children's early tentative attempts at communicating in another language we need to know them individually so we can become skilled at interpreting their messages. We need to show them by our responses that their language has meaning for us, and has some visible effect on us. We need to be as much under their language control as they are under our language control. Surprisingly, this is also a useful recipe for making friends. Effective literacy contexts are responsive and social.

A totally teacher-controlled context in which the learner can do little other than respond to questions and directions from the teacher whether the focus is on speaking, writing or reading is not a responsive social context. Indeed, the kind of middle-class pakeha classroom games in which teachers repeatedly ask questions for which they already know the answers is quite disconcerting to children from some ethnic groups. What is required, it seems, is the kind of context where teachers respond to, rather than control or direct children's language. The educational goal of the contexts for acquiring literacy skills should be that of communication through language use, and not language use through control and direction. This is a major shift from the learning goals of early applied behavioural research in education.

Meeting these urgent educational challenges requires further careful and intensive research. I believe that Applied Behaviour Analysis can go a long way towards meeting these challenges because of its success at identifying and measuring social and contextual processes involved in behaviour change, and because of its concern for the integrity of the behaviour of the individual. This very powerful methodological transplant from the United States has flourished in its new context but its application has been modified by the educational ideology and practices of Aotearoa. Hardy species adapt successfully.

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10

NEW STRATEGIES IN EDUCATION: TEACHING WRITING

Vince Catherwood

It is a basic law in the Curriculum Development Division in which I work that one has only to say 'Good morning' to a group of two or more and immediately one has started an argument.

One of the few assertions about curriculum, however, which is not likely to arouse quite as much controversy as other issues we often debate is the statement that the development of literacy is a key aim of schooling. Schools are expected to teach students to read and write. New Zealand's schools do succeed in this task, and spectacularly well.

There is no room for complacency, however, as we were reminded by headlines in *The Dominion* (Tuesday, September 6), 'Decline Seen in Standards of Grammar'. The article continues:

> Auckland University English Department head Don Smith said yesterday there had been a worrying decline in spelling and grammar standards in schools, which was evident in the work of the university's English students.

One could ask why *The Dominion* did not headline the comment that students were more confident and capable of expressing their own points of view, or, if a scapegoat was needed for a perceived decline in standards in the work of university students, why the performance of the university itself was not targeted instead of that of the schools. My aim in introducing the article, however, was not primarily to comment on Professor Smith's opinions. It was to illustrate that standards of literacy are matters of wide public interest. Items like this one from Auckland recur regularly in the popular press, and it has always struck me as odd that good news about standards of literacy (such as is contained in Hilary Lamb's report *Writing Performance in New Zealand Schools*) does not attract the same attention from the media.

I think we do have some good news. I want to sketch in brief outline the developments that have led to the establishment of the New Zealand Writing Project.

The burgeoning interest in the teaching of written expression in New Zealand over the last decade is not an isolated phenomenon: it is part of a growing international interest. There has been a National Writing Project in the USA since the establishment of the Bay Area Writing Project in California in the early 1970s. There is a National Writing Project in Britain. There is considerable interest in writing in Australia.

The current intense international interest in the teaching of written expression has been largely inspired and fuelled by American thinkers, writers, researchers and teachers. Nearly every university in the USA recognises 'composition' as a legitimate field of study, and there is a considerable body of research and literature available in the subject. This tradition goes right back to the study of rhetoric in the time of the ancient Greeks. What is interesting by contrast is the absence of a chair or department labelled 'composition' in our own New Zealand universities, although I have no doubt the teaching of writing is still regarded as one of their functions. The naming and the existence of 'composition' as a discipline in the USA stems from a cultural tradition different in significant ways from our 'English' heritage, and may be one reason why the impact of American ideas on teaching writing has been influential.

My first personal contact with the American approach to teaching writing (and I am referring throughout to 'writing' as 'written expression' or 'composition', rather than 'handwriting') came in August, 1980, in Sydney at the Third International Conference on the Teaching of English. One of the keynote speakers at that conference was a brilliant researcher, Professor Donald Graves of the University of New Hampshire. His address, 'Patterns of Child Control of the Writing Process', struck a number of chords among the 100 New Zealanders present. What he had to reveal was a researcher's observation of how children at ages five and six learn to write. Although the subjects of his research were American children in New Hampshire, his conclusions applied to children everywhere; or at least to those learning to write using the Roman alphabet.

Another outcome of the Sydney conference was the establishment of the New Zealand Association for the Teaching of English, and it was therefore no surprise that at the second NZATE conference in Christchurch in 1982, a keynote speaker was Professor Donald Graves. His visit, financially supported by the NZATE and by the Department of Education, provided a remarkable stimulus in New Zealand to the teaching of writing. The success and the spread of his ideas about the process of writing led rapidly to a new industry in both primary and secondary schools. This curriculum development happened almost by accident, but the nature and spread of the popularity of the 'Graves' approach to writing say a lot about New Zealand's relatively small size, about the networks that exist within the New Zealand education system and about how New Zealand teachers recognised that what Graves was talking about gave a respectable research basis to what they were already doing anyway.

What happened was quite simple, but remarkably effective. The conference organisers in Christchurch made a videotape of Professor Don Graves's two addresses. These videotapes were circulated by the Department's Head Office to inspectors in each of the regional offices, and to the inspectors in each of the ten Education Boards. These videotapes were used as the basis of teacher in-service meetings over the next year or so. Coupled with sales of books by and about Donald Graves through the New Zealand Association for the Teaching of English, and with support from the department, a climate of interest in writing was generated within the New Zealand teaching profession.

There were other parallel developments under way simultaneously. New Zealand, through the Department of Education, is a member of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (the IEA).

The IEA had proposed an international research study on written composition early in the 1980s. Ken Millar, a colleague in the Curriculum

Development Division, attended a preliminary meeting in the USA in 1981 to consider the project. In November, 1982, I attended a meeting at the University of Illinois as the National Research Co-ordinator for New Zealand in this study. While this was an international study, with involvement from fourteen countries, the chair of the study was Dr Alan Purves, an American who had visited New Zealand in 1977 under the Fulbright programme and who subsequently wrote a monograph *Achievement in Reading and Literature in the Secondary Schools: New Zealand in an International Perspective*, published by NZCER. The personal contacts, made possible through the Fulbright awards, were still in evidence.

Hilary Lamb subsequently took over the position of National Research Co-ordinator for the New Zealand Study of Written Composition and produced in 1987 the monograph reporting on the results of the study.

This research study was designed as a cross-sectional 'snap-shot' of achievement in written composition at one point in time. While it was being planned in the early 1980s, the thinking within the Department of Education was that such research should be complemented by additional research which would probe the teaching act itself, with a view to discovering which teacher interventions were most useful in assisting students to develop their abilities to write.

The New Zealand Council for Educational Research in the early 1980s had shown an interest in developing instruments to assess performance in writing, along the lines of the Progressive Achievement Tests. The Department's response to initial proposals from NZCER was to suggest that it would attach higher priority to a research programme on writing which would produce findings that could then be used in the in-service education of teachers. NZCER accepted this line of thinking, and subsequently David Philips was asked to develop a research programme, possibly focussing on a longitudinal study, which would produce findings that could be used by teachers to improve the teaching of writing. The monograph *A Month's Writing in Four Classrooms* (1985) is the first result of that research programme. It was into this context in 1984 that support for the teaching of writing from the New Zealand-United States Educational Foundation became available, through the Fulbright programme, for United States scholars to visit New Zealand. Professor Richard Adler from the University of Montana, United States of America, Director of the Montana Writing Project, accepted a six month Fulbright award at the Victoria University of Wellington. His brief was to work on a writing across the curriculum project at the university. He attended the NZATE conference in Nelson in May 1984 and through his contacts with teachers, with departmental officers and with other university personnel (mainly Brian Opie at Victoria and the staff of the English Department at Massey University) sowed the seeds for the establishment of a New Zealand Writing Project.

When I was in the United States of America in 1982 I had heard about the United States National Writing Project, and considered it the most exciting curriculum development then under way in that country. Dick Adler, when he spoke to Bill Renwick, then Director-General of Education, and a group of departmental officers, spoke persuasively of the benefits of the writing project in Montana and gave us a very detailed outline of what the writing project was, and what it could offer this country.

When I was offered a Fulbright award in 1985 to study the developments in relation to a core curriculum in the United States of America, I took time out from the main focus of my visit to study two writing projects: the Bay Area Writing Project and the Arizona Writing Project. I came away convinced that the principles of the writing projects in the United States of America did have application to New Zealand and that, while there would have to be adaptations to New Zealand conditions, we could develop an indigenous project which would improve the teaching and learning of writing, along the lines of the United States National Writing Project.

In 1986 the Fulbright programme supported a second scholar at Victoria University to assist the writing-across-the-curriculum programme and the development of the New Zealand Writing Project. Professor Richard Young from Carnegie-Mellon University in Pennsylvania was able to assist us in shaping the New Zealand Writing Project. A Wellington Writing Project was held for a week in April, 1986, at Victoria University as a pilot scheme to explore what might be possible in a New Zealand context. The intention was that the experience gained in this pilot scheme would be helpful for planning future projects. The expertise of both Professor Young and Brian Opie was particularly valuable in helping us determine the structure and format of the New Zealand Writing Project.

The journal of the Wellington Writing Project, 'The Write Stuff' was produced as a record of the Wellington project and as a resource for the subsequent national course for teachers.

The national course, held at the Lopdell Centre in Auckland from 7-11 July 1986 had two main aims.

1 To initiate a New Zealand Writing Project, aimed at improving the teaching of writing in New Zealand schools.

2 To train resource teachers to lead writing workshops and in-service courses in each region. The national course adopted the following statement of principles as a basis for the development of the New Zealand Writing Project. While the New Zealand projects have been tailored to New Zealand conditions (the length of each course, for instance, is one week, rather than the four or five weeks of the US projects) the debt to the United States model is obvious.

The New Zealand Writing Project aims to stimulate and co-ordinate efforts to improve the teaching of writing in New Zealand schools, and to encourage the development of a confederation of writing projects.

The experience, intuitions and effective practices of New Zealand teachers of writing are central to the Project. As a result the programme is a response to New Zealand needs and experiences and takes account of the diversity of cultures that contribute to our society.

The Project is based on a commitment to the following principles:

- The best way to improve student writing abilities is by improving the teaching of writing.

The focus of the programme is on teacher education rather than, for example, on the development of teaching materials or on curriculum change, the assumption being that such a focus will be more effective in improving the competence of students as writers.

- The knowledge and current practice of experienced teachers is a major resource in improving the teaching of writing.

This principle is the reason that the Project relies heavily on teaching workshops conducted by practising teachers. The workshop is the principal means by which the best ideas from current practice are shared. These ideas will be supplemented by access to research information. Participants in projects subsequently may serve as advisers on the teaching of writing.

- Teachers from each level of the education system are involved.

Teachers from early childhood to tertiary education share a common interest in developing the writing abilities of their students. Involving teachers from all levels is responsive to the need for greater understanding of the way that the problems, policies and practices at one level affect what is done at other levels.

- Teachers who participate in the Project must be willing to write and share what they have written.

It is only through writing and editing their own work that teachers can understand what students experience when they write, gain insights into complexities of writing and develop new skills in teaching writing.

Two events occurring before September 1988 have been the approval by the Government of a new policy of $90,000 for the 1988 calendar year to support the New Zealand Project, and Dr Ruie Pritchard's presence for six months in 1988 as a consultant to the New Zealand Writing Project.

The funding provided by the Government has enabled the Department of Education to join together the twin strategies which make up the New Zealand Writing Project.

First of all, the Government is funding the teacher release days and associated travel and accommodation costs of personnel to train a cadre of resource teachers of writing who would work as consultants in schools to improve standards of written expression of primary, secondary and tertiary students.

Secondly, the Government is funding a research project, to be carried out by the New Zealand Council for Educational Research, into the identification of effective classroom intervention strategies and methods of teaching writing which will improve the teaching and learning of written expression.

There are now seven regional writing projects in: Wellington, Christchurch, Auckland, Invercargill, Taranaki, Franklin and Hamilton. An eighth project was established in Northland in 1988.

A further stage in the research programme undertaken by the NZCER is also under way.

Together, these initiatives constitute the New Zealand Writing Project.

Ruie Pritchard's support and expertise have been a most welcome addition to the New Zealand project, and I want to pay public tribute to the energy, enthusiasm and at all times, her total professionalism in assisting New Zealand teachers and New Zealand researchers in their task of helping students write better. She has been a superb ambassador for her country and we in New Zealand have benefited greatly from her expertise.

In conclusion, on the subject of literacy, I believe the New Zealand-United States traffic travels on a two-way street. New Zealand has developed a distinctive and successful approach to learning and teaching literacy over the years. In particular, approaches to the teaching of reading in this country have been well documented, through the success of such programmes as Ready to Read, ERIC and LARIC. Rather less attention in the literature has been paid to the teaching of writing, but I believe there is also a 'national style' in the New Zealand approach to written expression.

What is distinctive about the New Zealand approach to language teaching is the way in which listening, speaking, reading and writing are integrated within a teaching and learning programme in the classroom.

Whether the Maori view of knowledge as a holistic entity has been influential in shaping this view is an interesting point of discussion. I suspect, reading the writing of such New Zealanders as Sylvia Ashton-Warner, that the Maori influence has been a potent force in determining our distinctive educational practice in relation to reading and writing.

Two months ago, Ken and Yetta Goodman, two well-known American teachers in the field of literacy learning, visited this country and commended New Zealand for what they characterised as a 'whole language' approach. I was also present at Lopdell Centre in July this year when a group of 40 American teachers from New York State called in. They were visiting New Zealand to see 'whole language' in operation.

I think it is indeed ironic that as New Zealand, after nearly two decades, discovers the benefits of a powerful teacher development programme such as the Writing Project, Americans are coming here to view our 'whole language' programmes which have been the basis of our language teaching at least since 1964, when I first began teaching English.

As part of this two-way traffic there are New Zealanders who are going or have gone to the USA, by the Fulbright route, to study writing. David Philips of NZCER returned in 1988 from a study tour and Elody Rathgen of Christchurch Teachers College left early in 1989 to study writing across the curriculum in the USA.

The challenge for the future is to develop strategies in line with the policies set out in Tomorrow's Schools in order to build on the good work that has already been done with the various writing projects. I am sure we will develop strategies that work, and in a climate of devolution we may well look again to our American friends for solutions that have been tested there. I believe that the powerful model of teacher development upon which the New Zealand Writing Project is based is a pointer to the way ahead.

11

THE NATIONAL WRITING PROJECT IN NEW ZEALAND

Ruie Jane Pritchard

The last decade in the United States has brought more changes in the teaching of writing at all levels than had occurred in the whole of the twentieth century. It is not just that new instructional practices are evident in United States classrooms, but that basic pedagogical underpinnings are altered. The evolution is now dubbed by educationists as a 'paradigm shift' in the sense that Thomas Kuhn uses the term to describe the process by which revolutions in intellectual theory occur. The flagship of the challenge to the traditional paradigm in the teaching of writing is the National Writing Project (NWP), currently in operation in more than 180 sites in the United States and ten or so other countries, including New Zealand. Its catchphrase is, 'One learns to write by writing' – not by diagramming sentences or labelling parts of speech or prescribing grammar worksheets or marking errors or drilling spelling rules or describing literary forms or outlining or copying – all common instructional practices in traditional English classes. In fact, if one teaches writing in a traditional paradigm, one is frequently emphasising techniques that research has largely discredited. We know, for example, that grammar has long been the scapegoat for ineffective teaching practices which do not foster writing development, for research has clearly shown that the direct teaching of grammar – so often demanded of schools by the public – has a negligible, if not harmful, effect on the improvement of writing ability.

National Writing Project courses have helped teachers to discover, or reconfirm, alternative practices which have powerful positive effects on the writing of their students, as well as their own attitudes and confidence as teachers. The National Writing Project has not codified a particular set of instructional practices, but its assumptions govern those that emerge (see Appendix A). Its main tenet is that we cannot teach students to write by looking only at what they have written; we must intervene during the act of writing to affect its outcome. We cannot simply give apprentice writers a set of rules; we must initiate them into the processes that proficient writers go through. Pedagogy in National Writing Project courses – both what is suggested and what is modelled – derives from this premise that writing is a process.

The New Zealand Writing Project shares these assumptions of the National Writing Project, while recognising that teachers need special training in order to teach writing well. This teaching skill does not just happen as a by-product of other curriculum programmes. For example, English majors who have literary backgrounds and who write well themselves may have no idea how to catalyse reluctant writers or enhance the skills of a developing writer; Maths and Science and History and Art teachers need suggestions for using writing as a learning tool in their disciplines; primary teachers need strategies to help apprentice writers develop confidence and competence; middle school teachers need techniques for moving young people away from personal and narrative writing, which is comfortable for them, towards more challenging genres. Experienced teachers who have already adopted a process-approach philosophy and who are convinced of the centrality of language in the curriculum – and these are many in New Zealand – still raise such questions as, 'How do I teach writing?' (rather than, 'Should I teach writing?') and 'How and when do I teach grammar?' (rather than, 'Should grammar be taught at all?').

The New Zealand Writing Project is the forum that invites skilled teachers to share what they have learned by paying attention to their own students. It asks teachers to challenge the principles (and, in some cases, principals!) guiding their teaching, to update their knowledge of research and theory, to expand their repertoire of effective teaching strategies, and to become writers themselves, cognizant of their own processes. Within a short course, teachers are revitalized as professionals, seeing themselves, sometimes for the first time, as informed adults who know something about how to teach young people.

A typical day in a National Writing Project course may begin with teachers making entries in their personal learning logs and then interacting in a fun group-building activity which they can use in their own classrooms. An 'input' session might follow in which a resource person shares current research or theory or discusses burning issues in the teaching of writing, as a route to updating our knowledge base. A classroom teacher might then conduct a short lesson, with the project participants as the learners, which has been used successfully with students at his or her grade level. Afternoons are usually spent doing one's own writing or sharing writing in peer groups which have been trained. The day might end with an article or question to be considered for the next day.

In the United States, the National Writing Project courses are four to five weeks long, with preparatory and follow-up responsibilities. Many, as in North Carolina where I co-direct a project, are funded by ongoing grants which provide fellowships for outstanding teachers to participate during their holiday. These are not courses in which an Educational Saviour comes to remediate poor teachers; they are, instead, designed for excellent practitioners to share and elaborate on what they already know. In New Zealand, the course lasts five intense days – enough to instill the concepts and form a core group of interested teachers willing to meet again and to act as resources for their colleagues. To date, approximately 200 New Zealand teachers, representing primary through tertiary education, have participated in the New Zealand Writing Project. As a result of these trained teachers, over 6,000 students will have benefitted, more if one considers the students of colleagues that the trained teachers influence. Studies in the United States indicate that not every teacher has to be directly trained in order for student achievement gains to be realised. However, those students who have had teachers in NWP inservice training courses achieve the highest mean scores on writing samples.

As with any interactive teaching situation, the course leaders gain as much as they give. As a result of my Fulbright stay in New Zealand, I have a rich store of successful teaching ideas created by innovative New Zealand teachers at all levels. In addition, I will carry back some of the elements of the New Zealand Writing Project courses themselves, developed mainly in the name of efficiency, since the New Zealand course is shorter than its United States counterpart. Specifically:

1 I will share New Zealand's outstanding contributions in the teaching of reading and language (ideas from Reading Recovery and Emergent Reading programmes, use of School Journals, Big Books and Shared Reading). I especially appreciate the absence of worksheets and tests, and the emphasis on whole language activities.

2 North Carolina teachers will share a second (in our case) successful teaching strategy in small groups in order to have more opportunities to pool ideas (borrowed from the Northland Writing Project).

3 North Carolina teachers will use the Jigsaw Format developed in the Collaborative Learning Project to enable teachers to read a variety of articles on teaching of writing in a compressed time (borrowed from the Canterbury Writing Project).

4 Our class collection of successful composition lessons will now have a back cover with a pocket, so that new ideas can be easily added (borrowed from the Southland Writing Project).

5 Participants will produce a newspaper for each of the four weeks of the project which highlights activities of the week (borrowed from the Conference of the New Zealand Association of Teachers of English).

6 Project teachers will have the choice of either describing their own writing processes (a standard practice), or creating a visual display of their writing processes which could be used as an illustration for their students (borrowed from the Otago Writing Project).

7 Part of one day will be spent out of the project classroom and in the community, for writing that is promoted by the particular offerings of our area (borrowed from the Taranaki Writing Project).

8 One group-building activity will be the writing and presenting of a short skit by each group (borrowed from the Franklin Writing Project).

9 I will make Discussion Papers available to English Departments in the ten counties that CAWP serves (borrowed from the New Zealand Department of Education).

10 I will share with United States teachers research initiated and conducted by New Zealanders, such as that contributed by Warwick Elley, Hilary Lamb, Marie Clay, Ted Glynn and David Philips.

As the prime mover of writing research in New Zealand in the 1980s, David Philips of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research has undertaken a number of significant studies, including ethnographic research, in the area of writing which are addressing questions raised, and not yet answered, in other parts of the world. His writing research is among the most valuable rewards – in terms of my own research knowledge – from this Fulbright experience. After I return to the United States I will investigate funding to support a co-operative United States-New Zealand research programme.

While recognising the theme of this conference – 'The Impact of American Ideas on New Zealand's Educational Policy, Practice and Thinking' – we must remind ourselves that New Zealand has been a robust contributor to that dialogue. Fulbright awards are designed not only for what American scholars can bring to other cultures, but for what two nations can accomplish collaboratively.

Appendix A

BASIC ASSUMPTIONS OF NATIONAL WRITING PROJECTS

The Bay Area Writing Project staff development model to improve student writing by improving the teaching of writing is based upon a set of key assumptions:

1 That the university and the schools must work together as partners in a cooperative effort to solve the writing problem, common to both levels; that new collegial and non-hierarchical relationships between professors, instructors and teachers are essential; that the top-down tradition of past university/school programs is no longer acceptable as a staff development model.

2 That while most teachers in the schools have never been adequately trained as teachers of writing, there are, nevertheless, teachers at all

levels – elementary school through university – who out of necessity have learned how to teach students to write and have, through trial and error and in the privacy and isolation of their own classrooms, developed effective approaches to the teaching of writing.

3 That these successful teachers can be identified, brought together through campus Summer Institutes, and trained to teach other teachers of writing in project-sponsored workshops conducted in the school districts throughout the school year.

4 That the best teacher of teachers is another teacher – teachers believable as consultants because their ideas and the specific teaching strategies they demonstrate have been developed with real students in real classrooms.

5 That teachers of writing must write themselves; that they need to experience regularly what they are asking of their students; that they need to discover and understand the process of writing they are teaching through their own writing; and that they need to write during inservice workshops, testing new ideas, new approaches, as if – for the moment – they were their own students.

6 That real change in classroom practice happens over time; that effective staff development programs are on-going and systematic – programs that make it possible for teachers to come together regularly to test, try out, and evaluate the best practices of other teachers.

7 That effective programs to improve students' writing should involve teachers from all grade levels and teachers from all content areas; that the idea of writing as a way of learning is an idea that teachers across the curriculum and across grade levels find compelling.

8 That what is known about the teaching of writing comes not only from research but also from the practice of those who teach writing.

12

A REVIEW OF CURRENT WRITING RESEARCH AND PROPOSED DEVELOPMENTS

David Philips

Before the early 1980s very little research on writing had been conducted in New Zealand, except by academics such as Marie Clay (e.g., *What Did I Write?*), Warwick Elley (*The Role of Grammar in a Secondary School Curriculum*) and Ted Glynn (supervising various dissertations by students using techniques of applied behavioural analysis), all of whom (to my knowledge) still maintain an interest in research on writing but with an emphasis on reading research. The occasional thesis since the 1920s has focussed on one or other feature of writing (usually its role in the English curriculum), most notably Clarrie Ford's in the late 1940s. But prior to 1980 efforts were sporadic and unco-ordinated. Despite the prevalence of writing within the classroom, as a subject of academic study very little attention was paid to it.

In the early 1980s, however, there was change. Some of the more significant influences were New Zealand's participation in the IEA: Study of Written Composition (see, for example, *Writing Performance in New Zealand Schools*, H. Lamb, Department of Education, Wellington, 1987), the Department of Education's support for related research, and the growth of interest in the National Writing Project in the United States, as a possible model for improving the teaching of writing in New Zealand. After the

New Zealand Council for Educational Research undertook to investigate the teaching and assessment of writing through conducting an observational study and a survey of primary and secondary school teachers in 1983, research on writing gradually assumed a higher profile in New Zealand. This paper will focus on three areas: research on writing which NZCER has been actively involved in, an outline of my experiences in the United States in the latter half of 1987 as a Fulbright Senior Research Scholar, and a look at future developments in the area of writing research.

RESEARCH ON WRITING AT NZCER

Apart from a consultative role in the IEA: Study of Written Composition, research on writing at NZCER has focussed upon five main projects: an observational study which culminated in a comprehensive research report *A Month's Writing in Four Classrooms*; a national survey of practices used to teach and assess writing (Teaching Writing Across the Curriculum); a series of studies involving the use of word processors in classrooms (part of the Exploratory Studies in Educational Computing, a research contract funded by the Department of Education); a study attached to the New Zealand Writing Project, designed to investigate effective techniques of response during the writing process (another Department of Education research contract); and a comprehensive overview of ways of assessing writing which emphasise students' growth as writers, with the aim of producing a range of resources for teachers which will assist in improving the teaching and assessment of writing. These five projects mark the beginnings of a programme of research on writing at NZCER.

A MONTH'S WRITING IN FOUR CLASSROOMS

For this NZCER study, the writing activities in two intermediate classes (Form 1 and Form 2) and two secondary classes (Form 3 and Form 4) in the Wellington region were observed for five weeks each during the latter part of 1983. The aims of this intensive project were to determine the variety of writing tasks pupils were asked to carry out, the extent to which the eight teachers involved provided assistance to their pupils, and the approaches towards writing adopted by the 16 pupils (four in each class) selected for detailed study.

Apart from the detailed observations made while pupils were writing in class, samples of written work were collected and photocopied from English (i.e., Language at the intermediate level), Science and Social/ Economic Studies, and regular interviews were held with the teachers and pupils to discuss their respective views on various aspects of writing. Specific issues investigated included the range of writing tasks set, how much time was allowed for writing, how the classes were organised for writing activities, the teachers' behaviour, including techniques used to assist pupils experiencing writing difficulties, evaluation methods used, and the strategies adopted by the case study pupils in carrying out different kinds of writing.

A report has been produced which describes the methodology and results in detail. Although the sample of classrooms observed was small, the issues explored are relevant to all intermediate and lower secondary level teachers. A summary of the secondary part of the study is also available ('Six Weeks Writing in Two Secondary School Classrooms' in *set*, 1, 1986).

TEACHING WRITING ACROSS THE CURRICULUM

This full-scale survey, also carried out by NZCER, involved 400 primary and secondary teachers at all levels from J1 to Form 6. Initially, the participants filled in a detailed questionnaire covering these areas: methods used to teach writing; the pupils' responses to written work; the kinds of writing set; the evaluation of pupils' written work; how the teaching of writing is organised; teachers' views on how writing should be taught and the importance of writing. About 25 teachers at each level were involved. In addition, the participants supplied all the writing done over a period of one week by three pupils in their class, chosen to represent different levels of ability. The 6,000 writing samples are a solid body of written work which should yield a number of interesting findings.

It is hoped that the survey will provide a comprehensive overview of how written work was used in New Zealand primary and secondary schools during the latter part of 1983, and how writing skills were taught. This information could serve as a point of reference for future studies investigating the effects of innovations in the teaching of writing which will have been introduced since 1983. One of the features of the study is its emphasis on writing across the curriculum; the sample of secondary school teachers, for example, includes the subject-areas of Social Studies, History, Geography, Science, Chemistry and Biology as well as English.

So far, reports based upon the questionnaire data have been released to the teachers involved at each of the primary levels, and a further set is planned for the secondary participants. In addition, a major monograph based upon this comprehensive survey will be published in 1989.

EXPLORATORY STUDIES IN EDUCATIONAL COMPUTING: WRITING WITH A WORD PROCESSOR (ESEC STUDIES 2, 4 AND 6)

After a number of preliminary conferences held in the latter half of 1985, several studies were launched in 1986 with the aim of investigating how computers can be used in primary and secondary schools to develop pupils' skills in a number of areas. Three of these studies are looking at the role of word processors in Language/English classrooms, and form a new departure in many ways for educational researchers in New Zealand. One study, for example, was set in a rural area of Hawkes Bay, and brought together four small schools in order to make available to the children computer-based editing facilities with the aim of examining how these are used when pupils write in an expressive mode (i.e., personal pieces relating something from experience). Pupils aged from five to thirteen years took part. It is hoped that the three studies will provide a comprehensive set of data which will enable informed decisions to be made about the future use of word processors in primary and secondary school classrooms. An interim report from the study located in Central Otago was made available in mid-1987. Final research reports from these studies are currently in preparation and it is anticipated that they will be completed by mid-1989.

RESPONDING EFFECTIVELY TO STUDENTS' WRITING

Recent national courses bringing together teachers and curriculum officers from throughout New Zealand have shown that the provision of resources for the teaching of writing is inadequate. In an attempt to provide teachers with useful materials, a research project has been funded as part of the New Zealand Writing Project. This aims to establish how effective teachers of writing respond to their students' writing throughout the writing process, focussing upon types of feedback, timing of teacher-pupil interactions and kinds of features stressed. A fulltime project officer is undertaking the research in collaboration with NZCER. After an extensive preliminary screening of more than 60 highly recommended teachers, a sample of 25 was selected for detailed observations and interviews during Term 3 1988, with five each at Standard 1, Standard 4, Form 2, Form 4 and Form 6 taking part. Teachers in Auckland, Wellington and Dunedin are included.

The project is due to be completed by the end of March 1989, and a research report plus some resource booklets on techniques for responding to students' written work in the classroom will become available after mid-1989 also.

ASSESSING STUDENTS' GROWTH AS WRITERS

In addition to the research studies just outlined, one area of long-standing interest to NZCER has been the assessment of writing. While undertaking research on writing over the past five years, I have made a comprehensive search for overseas materials (both research and published classroom materials) which address significant issues related to the role of writing assessment in assisting the development and growth of students' writing. This search has taken me overseas on two occasions: firstly, to the International Writing Convention at the University of East Anglia in 1985 (where I was able to meet some of the world's leading writing researchers both at the conference and through follow-up visits), and, secondly, to Carnegie Mellon University, Pittsburgh as a Fulbright Senior Research Scholar focussing upon advances in research on writing. As a result, I have now prepared an extensive discussion paper on alternative ways of assessing students' growth as writers, which surveys research in the United States, Great Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, and advocates the compilation of a number of resources for teachers to help improve the teaching, learning and assessment of writing.[1]

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[1] Towards a New Approach for Assessing the Teaching and Learning of Writing in Schools: Proposals for Research and Resource Development, Wellington:NZCER, February 1989.

A start has been made on the development of two resources: a writing checklist for teachers in the junior school (designed specifically for appraising the writing development of pupils aged five to eight), with the collaboration of a small working party of junior school teachers in the Wellington region, and an assessment resource based upon the analytical techniques used in the IEA: Study of Written Composition, designed particularly for the use of teachers in intermediate schools and at Form 5. The focus of these resources is upon diagnosing areas where improvements could be made, on assessments of multiple facets of the writing and concern for individual needs and growth.

MY EXPERIENCES AS A FULBRIGHT SENIOR RESEARCH SCHOLAR AT CARNEGIE MELLON UNIVERSITY, PITTSBURGH

Thanks to the assistance of the NZ-US Educational Foundation, I was able to spend several months in the United States during 1987 following up recent developments and research on the teaching, learning and assessment of writing. My experiences have been described in detail elsewhere (see 'Research on Writing in Great Britain, Canada and the United States: 1987 Study Leave Report', Research on Writing Information Service No. 13, NZCER: Wellington, August 1988 and 'Research on Writing in the Northern Hemisphere', *English in Aotearoa*, 5, May 1988), so in this context, I shall do no more than give an indication of the scope of my Fulbright experience.

A number of places in the United States have active programmes of research on various aspects of writing. The Centre for the Study of Writing, for example, which undertakes a wide range of research on the acquisition and development of writing skills, is located on two sites: the University of California at Berkeley, where much of the work on primary and secondary school writing is carried out, and Carnegie Mellon University in Pittsburgh, which focuses upon tertiary level topics. While I was unable to visit California, I did spend a semester in Pittsburgh and was able to learn a great deal about current research on the use of computers for developing writing, the design of documents, kinds of writing used in the workplace, and the use of qualitative methods of research for investigating writing issues such as interview techniques, the role of the participant observer in the classroom, ways of recording writing behaviour and the compilation of student profiles.

Carnegie Mellon University has an English Department which is unusual in many ways, perhaps most notably in its applied emphasis, that is, many of the projects staff are working on have been externally funded by agencies with a special interest in practical outcomes. Professors Hayes and Flower have carried out many studies examining planning processes in writing, while Christine Neuwirth and David Kaufer (through the Centre for Educational Computing in English) have developed a system for assisting students to write essays, taking them through from the note-taking stage to evaluation of the final written product. Their computer applications are very carefully worked out models of the activities which writers follow in constructing a serious piece of writing, and include sets of strategies which students can systematically work through in order to complete an essay on any topic. It seemed to me that their work could be adapted to the secondary school level, though such a task would require considerable investment of time, money and imagination. Also, some of the faculty are actively engaged in consulting work for large firms; they design documents which are easy to read, despite complex technical content, and which have an attractive layout. Again, it seemed to me that services such as these could well be supplied by specialists in New Zealand once an active research programme in writing has been established.[2] The range and quality of research carried out in the English Department at Carnegie Mellon University were impressive. In addition, it is one of the leading centres in the Northern Hemisphere for studies of rhetoric, that is the relationships between readers and texts, and writers and texts. The work undertaken at this university has much to offer the teacher of English, although it remains almost unknown in this country.

Shortly before I reached the United States, two new centres for research on aspects of writing were set up at the State University of New York at Albany, in upstate New York. One of these, the Centre for Study of Writing and Literacy, is directed by Professor Alan Purves, who has an international reputation for his work on various aspects of the teaching of English, and international studies such as those carried out by the IEA on reading and writing. Another centre, the Centre for the Study of Schooling and Literature, is directed by Professor Arthur Applebee, and focusses upon studies of curriculum-related matters, particularly those concerning writing and literature. I was able to visit SUNY, Albany and to discuss the research agendas of these important centres. They promise to give the study of writing an impetus it has lacked before, apart from the Centre for the Study of Writing, and reflect the national interest in writing (albeit often to do with standards, rather than more substantive issues of development or curriculum innovation) within the United States. These centres employ a broad group of scholars, and intend to address several main themes, such as the history of literacy within particular communities, longitudinal studies of language development and comparative studies of literacy events affecting different cultural groups within the United States. An interesting agenda indeed.

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[2] The reports which have so far come out from the Centre for the Study of Writing are available from NZCER. The Centre also produces a newsletter (which NZCER receives) and many articles written by the Centre's staff are also available.

During the late 70s Bolt, Beranek and Newman began work on QUILL, a computer application for fostering the development of shared writing activities in the classroom. The research and development work was carried out in Boston, and I was able to visit the creators of this piece of software. Their extensive studies are now being written up in book form, and should be available in 1989. One study involved children in various rural localities in Alaska exchanging letters and information about themselves using electronic mail, something which has not been adopted to any great extent in this country yet but which would seem to be ideal for children in isolated rural communities.

Another researcher at BBN demonstrated to me a new technique he has devised for encouraging the development in young writers of greater awareness of the kinds of decisions writers make while putting together a piece of writing; the technique is called 'cognitive apprenticeship' and can be used in several different subject-areas (e.g., mathematics, reading, writing). Basically, the teacher or modeller of the activity demonstrates the strategies which the learners need to acquire, with the aim of encouraging the development of self-monitoring and self-correcting skills (two important metacognitive skills). Eventually students are able to process their handling of the appropriate activities more fluently, and hence to progress to a greater level of competence in the task. This technique really needs to be observed, however, for full appreciation.

I also met Colette Daiute, who has written a detailed book on computers and writing, with a special interest in students' abilities to revise and edit their writing while using computers. Her work, and that of the staff at BBN, should provide especially useful points of comparison for the studies currently being written up at NZCER looking at students' use of word processors in urban and rural schools. Clearly, the use of computers in English classes is going to become one of the major curriculum challenges of the next decade, and it would be foolish not to consult overseas experiences in this area.

In short, my experience as a Fulbright Scholar enabled me to expand my horizons as a writing researcher in ways which I had not thought possible. As a number of speakers have stated at this seminar, my mindscape was overhauled and reintegrated. As a result, it seems to me that a number of developments need to be initiated in New Zealand in the near future if new strategies for the teaching of writing are to have a significant impact.

FUTURE NEEDS

The New Zealand Writing Project has given a substantial boost for inservice endeavours involving writing as well as contributing towards a deepening awareness of the potential of research on writing for improving current teaching strategies. The NZ-US Educational Foundation, through the Fulbright scheme, has helped several scholars either to share their knowledge about writing with New Zealanders or to acquire a deeper understanding of research on writing in the United States. In addition, NZCER has helped to facilitate some exploratory studies of writing in New Zealand primary and secondary schools over the past five years. But, as yet, research on writing receives little recognition if measured by the level of funding it has managed to attract.

It seems to me that several very important steps[3] now need to be taken:

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[3] These ideas are developed further in a state-of-the-art monograph to be published by the New Zealand Association for Research in Education late in 1989.

1 A properly funded and resourced programme of research in writing needs to be established in this country so that key issues related to the teaching, learning and assessment of writing can be addressed from perspectives appropriate to New Zealand. The current focus on one-off studies means that longterm research, focussing upon the development of individual writers or the evaluation of innovations, is very difficult to sustain. Issues which need to be addressed as part of a writing research programme include: the relationship of writing to learning, the role of writing across the curriculum, the acquisition of early literacy skills (including the relationship between reading and writing), effective forms of monitoring and assessing writing growth, and the relationship between school writing tasks and the workplace. A longitudinal study would be an ideal approach towards investigating many of these topics.

2 A range of writing resources needs to be developed by NZCER or groups of teachers working in collaboration with Teachers College staff and/or researchers, which reflect current knowledge about effective practices for encouraging the teaching, learning and assessment of writing. Ideally, such resources would take into account aspects of the teaching of writing which are unique to New Zealand.

3 A strategy is required for raising the consciousness of the public, educators and policy-makers about the importance of research on writing for pupils' development as learners and full participants in New Zealand's society and economy. A critical consciousness concerning language learning and use is vital if the human resources of New Zealand are to be fully utilised over the next 25 years. Strategies which could help include: newsletters, public talks, newspaper articles, media discussions, special interest groups, links with the new Ministry of Education, and in-service courses.

4 More active collaboration with overseas educators and scholars needs to be pursued through such activities as international exchanges, joint research programmes, participation in both overseas and local conferences, and occasional seminars focussing upon issues of national importance (such as literacy, language

assessment, writing and the school leaver). New Zealand scholars also need to meet more regularly to develop specific agendas for matters of educational significance concerning writing.

5 A Centre for Writing Studies/Literacy needs to be established to serve as a base for conducting research, as a clearinghouse, as a focus for visiting and local scholars. The New Zealand Council for Educational Research is an ideal site for such a centre because of its central location and previous work on writing.

13

THE INFLUENCE OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC LAW ON NEW ZEALAND SPECIAL EDUCATION

Don Brown

It is my pleasure to introduce the subject of the influence of American educational practice, in particular American public law, upon special education in New Zealand. In setting their own standards, in their own way and for their own unique set of circumstances the United States education service developed a programme for change which was not referenced to any international situation. Their pioneering efforts have served as a model to the rest of the world in establishing programmes for students with special teaching needs. As world leaders they have come to influence heavily what goes on elsewhere. But there is a disadvantage to being the first to do anything and that is that your efforts come under international scrutiny and hindsight reveals what might also have been.

The United States is the most important contributor to our knowledge of special education, our understanding of students with special teaching needs and the development of programmes to assist those students. I would, however, like to propose that it is not appropriate to rely exclusively on the American literature and the practices that lie behind that literature in developing our own programmes.

United States Public Law 94-142, the preceding legal and statutory decisions and those which have flowed from the 1975 decision have had far-reaching effects on countries other than the United States of America. While the United States has specified quite clearly the mandatory requirements to ensure an appropriate education for people who are handicapped, it does not follow that in pursuing the same objectives other countries should not take care to recognise the cultural setting in which changes must occur. As a culture based upon a Westminster model of enabling legislation and with a strong Pacific inclination for consensus decision making, we should ensure that what we import from North America has a 'fit' with our own system.

Influences such as the growing proportion of children who are handicapped in the population, the increase in school age population and other social factors have led to a net as well as a relative increase in the number of students with special needs in the United States public school system (Reynolds, Wang, Walberg, 1987). While data are not available on all these elements in New Zealand, certainly the school age population is rising (New Zealand Department of Education, 1987). This increasing school population is also culturally specific to New Zealand in the sense that it will be an ethnically more mixed group of students than we have ever experienced in the past.

Public Law 94-142 has acted as a stimulus. It is not unusual to hear the Public Law referred to as International Law 94-142. There is a temptation to model upon it and enshrine in New Zealand law some form of provision for groups of students who might, otherwise, have gone unnoticed or without a level of servicing which their advocates demand.

In the preface to *The Principal's Guide to the Educational Rights of Handicapped Students*, T. Page Johnson (1986) states 'there is no substitute for competent legal advice in any dispute about the education of a handicapped student'. This would be good advice in the United States. It does help to illustrate, though, the point I would like to draw in this paper. Johnson's position highlights the difference between the legally mandating American scene and the enabling, Westminster model which we have in New Zealand.

It does not follow that the American categorical and definitional system is necessarily appropriate either. There are reservations not only about the means by which the North American system might be used in another culture but even about the validity of the definitions themselves (NJCLD, 1987).

With respect to learning disabilities this is more than apparent. The definition contained in Public Law 94-142 has been proposed as an amendment to the Education Act in New Zealand as a Private Members Bill. This bill proposes that the category of learning disabilities be included in the Education Act. The New Zealand Education Act contains no categories. To change this would be a departure from the system which we have adopted since 1877. Moreover, the amendment itself avoids the exclusion clauses of the American public law. These exclusion clauses would be quite unacceptable to the egalitarian climate in New Zealand. The fact that the definition up to the point of the exclusion clause is itself highly contentious has not attracted the same attention as the exclusion clauses. Neither the public, nor, I regret to say, even some academics, have noted the fact that the technical definition is wanting (e. g. , Senf, 1987).

This notion that one defines categories in the legislation is not without its critics in the United States. Gartner & Lipsky (1987) note that students with seemingly identical characteristics qualify for different programmes depending on where they live and how school staff evaluate them. It also appears that there is a lack of evidence of validity for the categories proposed in at least one state. An entitlement decision may essentially be a waste of time and effort. It is clear that the United States is locked into a categorisation system which may well be a categorisation trap.

When one has a series of legal requirements that demand categorical diagnosis a number of issues emerge:

1 The categorisation trap.

2 The issue of categorisation versus identification.

3 The pursuit of pathology.

4 The need to devote human resources to diagnostic activities.

Public Law 94-142 defined the areas where special assistance could be provided using federal funding. Reynolds & Lakin (undated) and Madeleine Will (1986) have both made the point that while programmes can be carried out under these categorical definitions it is not possible to develop beyond the categories, even on an experimental trial basis, without obtaining a waiver which allows a specific departure from the effects of the legal categories. It is an unfortunate consequence of mandating activities, particularly where there are descriptors in the legislation, that not only are you bound to make provision, you are also bound to that provision -- you cannot make progress outside the mandated descriptors.

I would now like to turn to the issue of identification as distinct from categorisation. Categorical groupings in special education have a long history. They have had built around them advocacy groups, teacher training programmes, manufacturing and publishing enterprises and career prospects for teachers and others involved in special education. They did not emerge from the American Public Law; rather, they were the vehicle with which advocacy drove the legislators.

There is no doubt that diagnostic categories exist; nobody disputes blindness or deafness. As one moves away from the obvious 'conditions' toward the heterogeneity of 'learning disabilities' or 'emotional disturbance', even 'autism', one finds that one is serving a population of students who are collected together more on the basis of some exclusionary procedures in regular education than on clear definitions in special education. Identification becomes a nightmare in some cases and at least contestable in others.

Where resources are made available on the basis of a categorical condition, eligibility levels will rise as people over-include into the category. Where identification is required in order to prepare classroom programmes, careful thought will be given to the inter-relationship between the child and the curriculum.

The trend we have experienced in New Zealand since the 1970s has been to lay less emphasis on categorical definitions and more emphasis upon programme development. This is consistent with the wishes and intentions of our North American colleagues but we have the freedom to make these changes since the categories we have are administrative. We do not bear the burden of mandated categories and we should think carefully before adding such a load to the already complex task we have of realigning special education to serve the individual child.

The search for pathology is a term which is used to describe attempts by educators to justify placement of a student in a programme which carries resources. In the United States the extraordinary increase in the diagnosis of learning disabilities, coupled with a parallel decrease in the diagnosis of mental retardation (McGill-Franzen, 1987) demonstrates the continued efforts of educators to go where the money is. McGill-Franzen has discussed the interesting phenomenon of learning disabilities funding under Public Law 94-142 and compensatory education funding under Chapter One entitlements. This discussion highlights the difficulty one has when diagnosis follows inexorably upon the heels of resources attached to categorical definitions.

The Americans are not alone in this dilemma. We have recently encountered a similar problem here. By naming a group of students 'severely intellectually handicapped', we have invited practitioners to consider whether a child should be categorised and placed in a setting where the teacher to student ratio is 2:6 or whether that child merely qualifies for a 1:9 ratio in a programme for students who are moderately handicapped. This has been a salutary lesson to us. We should have known better. We should have set very careful guidelines on the allocation of resources for students with special teaching needs on the basis of individual assessment and need.

I might say that in working toward the 1 January 1990 requirement to ensure that all children receive assistance within the education system we are being much more careful about these matters. Our advantage is that we have legislated only the requirement to educate, we have not stated categories or defined the means by which inclusion in the category will be determined.

Clement, Zartler & Mulick (1983), note that surveys show that psychologists in the United States spend 70 percent of their time in diagnostic activities. Deno (1986) has suggested the need for a new role for school psychologists involving the development of assessment information which can contribute to the formulation and evaluation of special programmes. Jenkins (1985) has spoken of the need to develop a team of highly qualified special educators able to work with teachers on programme development and maintenance.

It strikes this observer as ironic that in New Zealand we have precisely that kind of education psychological service. Careful analysis of the New

Zealand Psychological Service has been reported elsewhere (Bardon 1980). This reveals the flexibility and educational application of psychologists compared with their North American counterparts.

Where do we go then? Ironically, or perhaps naturally, I must rely upon American authorities to support my thesis. I believe we should pursue a track we have been developing for some time here in New Zealand. I believe we should do as Maynard Reynolds (undated) suggests. We should label services rather than children and fund programmes rather than categories of disability.

We have made a start already. Clay (1985) has demonstrated with her reading recovery programme how we can avoid the categorisation trap and deal with eligibility following upon identification on a national socio-political mode. Glynn and his co-workers (1978, for example) have demonstrated how to convert a categorical provision into one which is non-categorical. The Draft Review of Special Education (1987) set the scene for ways in which we can move toward a data-based, individualised special education programme. To paraphrase Senf (1987) we must ensure that we are not in the position of being 'totally lost but making good time'. We must, instead, take our bearings from the literature and our own experience. We must note that we sail in our own cultural waters with enabling legislation that will allow us to make rapid progress if we have the will to do so. Then we must set course accordingly, acknowledging our debt to our American colleagues while setting our own stamp upon our work.

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14

THE ROLE OF MULTI-DISCIPLINARY ASSESSMENT CENTRES IN SPECIAL EDUCATION

Lottie Thomson

In 1985 I was seconded from my position as a field psychologist to Head Office to work on a project for the Health Education Welfare committee.

The report on *Child Health and Child Health Services in New Zealand* (1982) recommended,

> That the Ministers of Health and Education be asked to formulate national policy on assessment facilities for handicap and that the further development of sophisticated multi-disciplinary assessment centres be discouraged until such policy be formulated.

My task was to review the functioning of the assessment centres and report back to the Health Education Welfare Committee.

Coincidentally, I went on my Clayton's Fulbright – the kind of Fulbright you have when you are not having a Fulbright, that is, the United States Information Agency kindly arranged the itinerary and I personally financed the trip. Although I had several other topics of particular interest I took the opportunity to visit as many assessment centres in the United States of America and the United Kingdom as my itinerary would allow.

I will concentrate on the characteristics of the units I visited here and overseas and examine some of the issues that this form of delivery of service raises.

The major function of all the units in New Zealand was stated to be the assessment of children with developmental disabilities. How one views the purpose and nature of assessment is therefore important. All the centres I visited were medically based. However, the treatment for disabling developmental conditions is, by and large, educational not medical. The identification of a handicapping condition usually signals that the child will have some special educational needs. The intervention to enable the child to adapt more successfully to his/her environment will be an educational one. Intervention basically consists of devising strategies, in the light of the assessment data, which will enable the child to learn the skill s/he needs to function at as high a level as possible. For example, the diagnosis of Downs syndrome is part of the medical assessment of the child. There is, however, no medical treatment for the condition. Intervention consists of carefully conceived programmes to teach necessary skills.

Both health and education have significant contributions to make to the assessment of, and intervention with, children with disabilities particularly in the early years. However, given the medical nature of the units and the educational nature of the interventions one must carefully consider whether the education component in the assessment process is adequate. It is also a matter for consideration whether the educational contribution should be made to a medical centre, or if there should be a medical contribution to an educational programme.

An educational model of assessment demands consideration of ecological factors and requires not only assessment of the characteristics of the child but also of the environment in which the child functions and the interaction between the two. Successful intervention cannot be planned without a good knowledge of the resources both human and material available to the child in his/her environment. The problem is exacerbated as the child gets older and moves into the school system.

Given acceptance of this situation it is difficult to see how its principles can be put into effect away from the community in which the child lives. This is particularly the case for the national centres where assessment is carried out while the child is residing at the centre. Even regional and district units cannot expect to establish appropriate ecological assessment strategies unless they work closely with the child in the community.

Warnock was aware of the problem and stated in her report that although a medical input may be necessary for some children with severe or complex disorders it is less likely to be suitable for those who, though they need special education provision, do not require hospital treatment. She strongly recommended that multi-professional assessment should actually take place at a centre within the community other than a medical centre. Therefore two major areas of concern are:

(a) A medical approach to what is essentially an educational task; and

(b) Successful feedback into the child's environment.

These were also the major areas of concern overseas and each centre attempted to deal with these concerns with varying degrees of success, apart from the Wolfson Centre in London which worked entirely in a medical model through the traditional medical network. The Kennedy Centre in Baltimore vetted cases very carefully and only accepted the most complex. Towards the end of the assessment period the child's teachers were brought in and contributed to the intervention plan. The Newcomen Centre worked through established district handicap teams. Raeden Centre in Aberdeen maintained their own classrooms on site, as do two of the centres in New Zealand, but this is going against the principles of normalisation.

Only one centre of all those visited was run by an education department. This was a centre in Los Angeles with the somewhat outdated name of Diagnostic School for Neurologically Handicapped Children. This school employed medical personnel as well as teachers and other education professionals and the emphasis was certainly on educational assessment. A strength was that structures had been set up to ensure that the assessment did not take place in a vacuum but that there was a flow of information to and from the centre and those people working with the child in his or her environment. This was accomplished through the role of a liaison teacher whose function was to liaise closely with the child's school, helping the local teachers to set up programmes and supporting them while they implemented those programmes.

A role undertaken by the overseas centres which has been suggested for New Zealand, is that of providing 'the super assessment'. The suggestion is that by placing multi-disciplinary units in several major centres expertise will be built up so that those cases that prove too difficult for local resources can be successfully dealt with.

There is, however, little evidence either in New Zealand or abroad to suggest that the level of expertise to be found in the assessment centres is superior to the level of expertise of the practitioners of the various disciplines who operate in other settings. The situation which exists in, say, the Wolfson Centre, a highly prestigious centre attached to Great Ormond Street Children's Hospital, should serve as a caveat to us here in New Zealand. There I observed a child from North Wales, uprooted from his usual environment, closeted in a small room with a psychologist performing a Binet – for what purpose I don't know. Where units are set up as high status centres to deal with complex cases it is not surprising that the parents of children with disabilities will insist that this avenue should be open to them whether they can really offer anything over and above local resources or not.

All the units I visited either here or overseas stressed the importance of multi-disciplinary or inter-disciplinary functioning and rated this as an important element in their delivery of service.

There appears to be general consensus (Pearson, 1983; Pfeiffer, 1980; Gordon, 1981) that the inter-disciplinary team approach should be the most effective way of providing a service to children with developmental disabilities. It is in accordance with Mary Sheridan's (1965) 'whole child philosophy' where she cautions against centering attention on the handicap and forgetting 'the child who happens, as it were, to be attached to the handicap'. Problems do not divide themselves neatly and conveniently along discipline lines.

The notion of teamwork has, therefore, become well accepted in the health, education and social services. We should note, however, little empirical research to show that it is more effective than individual casework in outcomes for the consumer (Feigert, 1979; Kane, 1980). The establishment of inter-disciplinary assessment teams has not been accompanied by a careful analysis of the subject nor by empirical work on the effectiveness of team work.

The uncritical assumption that team work means better outcomes for the client is a premise which as yet is not unequivocally supported in the literature. This is understandable, perhaps, given that the measurement of collaboration, a somewhat complex and nebulous construct, and its effect on quality of service, is a rather formidable methodological problem.

In the assessment centres we see one agency (health) developing a model of delivery of service that attempts inter-disciplinary co-operation and co-ordination. The network, however, is just not wide enough. We have before us the task of co-ordinating different departments, agencies and professions to ensure the quality of service received by the client. The literature is not optimistic about our chances of success. Interprofessional collaboration is an 'elusive holy grail'. The issues must be recognised, examined and dealt with if we are to succeed. We must be aware of what Rae-Grant and Marcuse (1968) called 'the hazards of the interdisciplinary process'.

PROFESSIONAL FRAMEWORK

Each discipline's management of the child with developmental disabilities will be determined by the theoretical framework under which that profession operates; that is, the hypothesis made, the data gathered, the interventions suggested and ultimately the outcome, will depend on the philosophy and principles of that profession. In other words there may be differences in both assessment approach and management strategy. For example, a physiotherapist's recommendation of tactile and vestibular stimulation via the sensory integration approach for the child who has failed to learn to read may be questioned by a special educator who considers a well-planned remedial reading programme is what is needed. Psychologists trained in applied behaviour analysis may have difficulties finding common ground and agreed intervention strategies with Freudian oriented psychotherapists. As Pearson (1983) points out interdisciplinary collaboration can so easily degenerate into a 'multi-professional Tower of Babel in which we all speak in different tongues and with different attitudes and sets of values'.

DISCIPLINARY OVERLAP

There appears to be increasing competition among the disciplines for a role in the early years of development. In these years it is frequently difficult to decide which profession should deal with any particular problem and some problems could be handled well by more than one profession. New disciplines have attempted to establish and outline perceived areas of expertise. This expertise and the training which underpins it may not be recognised by some members of the more established professions. This can cause tension in a collaborative effort if clear agreement is not reached on the roles each discipline will play.

CONTRIBUTION OF DIFFERENT DISCIPLINES

If inter-professional collaboration is to succeed all the professionals involved must have a clear understanding and appreciation of the roles of other disciplines. The disciplines are, however, far from 'equal'. They differ in training, in the scientific basis of their practice, in the levels of legal responsibility to the client and in prestige and remuneration. These differences can be carried over into collaborative, professional functioning. In the medical assessment centres, for example, the paediatrician is ultimately responsible for his/her patient and thus his/her leadership role is recognised by his/her team. This leadership role may not, however, be subscribed to by professionals in non-medical settings.

SHARED RESPONSIBILITY

One of the argued strengths of team work is the notion of 'shared responsibility'. However, sharing responsibility may mean that no one is actually accepting full responsibility for the client. Clear understandings of who is ultimately accountable for the client must be established.

A related issue is one of role differentiation. Taken too far, the transdisciplinary approach may lead to such a situation of blurred roles that the full benefit of an individual's expertise will not be felt. Over-differentiation also has its dangers by restricting an individual's effective functioning and distorting the data gathered.

> Having a member of one discipline evaluate a child while a member of another evaluates the parents may make for good teamwork, but we might question whether it makes good sense (Rae-Grant and Marcuse, 1968).

COMMUNICATION

The necessity for good communication is self-evident but crucial enough to be stated. Organisations develop patterns of communication over time but inter-agency communication can be weak and not well-established. With complicating factors such as professionals working from different frameworks, perhaps unused to and cautious of each other, the opportunities for breakdown are numerous. Where professionals have established good collaborative patterns and understand each other's roles and requirements communication is enhanced.

If collaborative efforts between professions and agencies are to succeed then all these factors must be taken into account and strategies devised to maximise effective and efficient services.

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15

SUPPORT FOR MAINSTREAMING

Christine Hilton-Jones

The American Education for All Handicapped Children Act, better known as Public Law 94-142, mandates the assignment of handicapped students to the least restrictive placement possible. The terms mainstreaming, or integration, do not appear in PL 94-142. These terms were coined to describe the process of educating children with special needs in the least restrictive environment. Through common usage, mainstreaming has become the movement to increase the amount of contact a child with special needs has with normal children in ordinary, everyday situations. The basic principle is that students, with a disability, can benefit educationally and socially from being in programmes with non-handicapped students.

The impetus for mainstreaming in the United States has come from many sources – legislation, litigation, civil rights and educational research. Few educators argue with the principle of mainstreaming as it relates to basic notions of equality and justice. Here in New Zealand we must not fall into the trap of statutory categories of handicap and provisions tagged to these labels. We must deflect people from thinking of special education as only a different form of education carried out in segregated settings. We must ensure that teachers concentrate, not on what is different about a child with special needs, but that teachers consider how to ensure all children get what they need. This is part of a whole philosophical change where special education is moving from being something done by special educators somewhere else and is becoming a component of the regular education spectrum. From our American experiences we have learnt the importance of mainstreaming the system before mainstreaming the child.

Three types of mainstreaming are generally identified in New Zealand: locational, social and functional. Locational mainstreaming exists where a special school, special class or unit shares the same site as a regular school. Social mainstreaming is where children attending a special facility spend some time engaged in the more social activities, e.g., playtime, with regular school children. In this paper the focus is on support for the third type of mainstreaming – functional mainstreaming, where children with special needs participate for all or part of the day in the regular educational programme. The need to support teachers is addressed so that children with special needs are not just physically present in the ordinary classroom, but with assistance and adaptations to the regular class programme, or an individual programme, are educationally and socially integrated.

The provision of functional support networks to facilitate the mainstreaming of students with special needs into the regular classroom is a complex task.

PRESERVICE AND INSERVICE TRAINING

Preservice and inservice training emerges from the American experience as an essential feature of the support network for the regular class teacher. If children with special needs have a right to an education in a regular class, teachers have both a right and a responsibility to be prepared for the task. United States research shows that where teachers initially lacked the requisite training and skills they were anxious and had negative attitudes to special needs children. However, given pre- and inservice training as well as exposure to children with special needs, their confidence increased and attitudes changed.

For the first time this year the Auckland College of Education has offered a compulsory course called 'Individual Differences', to introduce all teacher trainees to children with special needs. Direct, practical experience of these children in regular classroom settings helps encourage acceptance at a personal level. Teachers must have positive attitudes to children with special needs, an appreciation of the range of individual differences and a knowledge of the support systems available to assist them. School-based inservice courses also need to be well planned and well structured to give teachers skills in how to use assessment information to establish teaching objectives, skills of task analysis, selecting activities appropriate to the teaching objectives and skills of precision teaching. Courses, both pre- and inservice, are an important support to regular class teachers in the education of children with special needs.

SUPPORT WITHIN THE SCHOOL

The organisation of the school, how children are grouped, the curriculum content offered, staffing levels, physical facilities, the expertise within the school, as well as the school's ability to individualise the learning process, all have an effect on the learning opportunities available to students with special educational needs.

School principals have been identified as one of the key professionals in mainstreaming successes. Part of their role is to upgrade the skills of all their teachers, but also to arrange ongoing support for teachers who have children with special needs, to locate appropriate instructional resources, to organise ancillary assistance or to instigate a volunteer programme, and to flexibly deploy staff to different roles within the school to assist the mainstreaming process.

THE REGULAR CLASS TEACHER

In New Zealand the regular class teacher has the primary responsibility for providing a programme for all of the children in her class. However, the implementation of mainstreaming is a complex task that requires a team approach and is the shared responsibility of a number of professionals.

The cornerstone of this team approach is the Individualised Educational Plan that sets out the child's current educational levels, describes the educational goals for the student and the programme, resources, and support needed to reach those goals. Individualised educational plans are efficient and effective planning aids. Formulation of individualized educational plans is based on excellent American models. Having put together a specific educational plan for a child entering the mainstream, the classroom teacher becomes the focal point for marshalling the resources to effectively implement the plan.

OUTSIDE SUPPORT

There needs to be a range of support services to provide help for teachers in regular classrooms with children who require significant adaptations to the school programme. It is interesting that with each new initiative to support children with special needs in regular schools, both here and in the United States, support has shifted closer to the interface between the regular class teacher and the child.

Some support services use a withdrawal model for an individual child or a small group aimed at direct remediation of a problem area in a resource room or clinic setting for part of the day. These specialist teachers, who may or may not be itinerant, offer a remedial or tutorial service in specific areas. Such specialists also serve as consultants to the regular class teacher providing materials and aids for use in regular class instruction.

Other support may be offered by a special education teacher working within the classroom with the targeted child, following an individual programme. There is, both here and in America, a noticeable decrease in the emphasis on a separate special education curriculum for some of these students and an increased emphasis on helping the child with special needs succeed in the regular school curriculum by reinforcing the same skills the teacher is emphasising. Throughout the United States and in New Zealand teachers with special skills are being used more flexibly in an advisory capacity throughout a school or a number of schools.

Greater emphasis is being given to support aimed directly at the classroom teacher to help the teacher become more competent. The school-based support team concept adopted in the United States is just such an initiative. It utilises existing staff, with specific competencies, to train other staff to meet the needs of students with academic and/or behaviour problems. This is undertaken through the direct skill improvement of the classroom teacher. This year we have a number of support teams throughout the country coming on stream.

Many teachers have commented that adaptations, for pupils with special needs, have forced them to think of different modes of presentation and to plan accordingly to the benefit of all pupils in the class. Once the focus shifts to how all children can be taught better, the sharp distinction between special and regular education teaching methodology becomes blurred. The emphasis must be on building a repertoire of effective teaching strategies that will increase teacher effectiveness with all students in the classroom.

In America and today in New Zealand there are many examples of teachers, parents and administrators who are flourishing under the challenge of supporting someone who is special in a regular class setting – may this impetus continue and grow.

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16

EARLY INTERVENTION: THE RELEVANCE OF AMERICAN PRACTICES TO THE NEW ZEALAND SITUATION

Helen Stevens

Early intervention services, which I studied last year in the United States, provide for infants and young children who are developmentally delayed or at risk of developmental delay. Such services have been provided in the United States for far longer than in New Zealand and I knew there would be a great deal I could learn from their experiences. I was fortunate to meet some of the leaders in this field of special education. I had come to know many of them through the books and journal articles I had read over the years. Others I heard about once I was in the United States and was able to include visits to them in my itinerary. My programme officer and the local International Visitors' Councils worked hard on my behalf to make these last minute arrangements.

As I travelled around the United States to observe programmes in action and discuss them with those involved, I concentrated on particular issues: training of staff; parent involvement; service delivery; membership of early intervention teams and the way in which individual roles were defined; co-ordination within each team and with associated service providers within the community; meeting the needs of ethnic minority groups; arrangements for transition of children into the school system; assessment/

individual programming procedures; and the evaluation procedures used to ensure accountability. In some of these areas I gained valuable new insights while in others I was pleased to realise that some of the practices in New Zealand compared well with the best I observed in the United States. I would like now to briefly give you some of my thoughts about these issues.

TRAINING

In the area of training of early intervention personnel, the United States is way ahead with its increasing range of both undergraduate and graduate level courses at the pre-service level. Attendance at inservice courses and conferences is regularly possible, and most teams also have a commitment to ongoing evaluation of their teamwork and accept responsibility for enskilling each other in carrying out their respective professional roles.

I have come to believe, therefore, that provision of a one year graduate course in early intervention for those already trained to teach at the early childhood level is a priority. Such a course should be divided into modules each of which could be taken individually as a means of providing inservice training to those already working in the area of early intervention. The modules should also be available through distance education but must include a practical component. A college of education is ideally suited to provision of such a course. It could ensure thorough training in all aspects of early intervention work and produce trained itinerant teachers to work with young children with special needs who are mainstreamed in any early childhood centre.

TEAM MEMBERSHIP AND ROLES

I suggest that itinerant teachers should be attached to every early intervention team as soon as possible. Now for the rest of the team. Who should be included? In my view the American programmes often tend to bring too many professionals together for any one family and the result is a bewildering array of advisory services for parents.

I consider that the educational needs of the child and support to the family can be provided by a small team of three or four. They should include an educational psychologist, a speech-language therapist and a physical therapist. All of the developmental needs of the child can be managed by these personnel but we must remember that an itinerant teacher will be required when the child is attending an early childhood facility.

One of the team members must accept responsibility as key worker for the family and act as home visitor and the co-ordinator of resources provided by the team as well as having a liaison function with medical personnel and any agencies such as voluntary organisations who may be involved.

In relation to team membership another factor became very apparent to me: the importance of the role of team co-ordinator. This role could be undertaken by one of the team members or one person could be employed as the co-ordinator of three or four teams within a wider area. An advisory committee should be established to set the policy and procedures for each team and to take responsibility for ensuring regular evaluation of team performance. The co-ordinator would act as a link between the team and the advisory committee.

A further matter in relation to team membership was one I alluded to before when discussing training. It is my view that without a lengthy course, perhaps four years long, specifically for training early interventionists, one person could not have sufficient expertise to provide for a family's requirements in relation to their young child with special needs. I am not even sure that this would be desirable. Therefore personnel from a range of professions as already indicated are required. Nevertheless only where each has a good understanding of the professional perspectives of the others does a team function in an integrated fashion. This means attention to intra-team training is required. This model of team operation is generally referred to as transdisciplinary, and I personally believe that it is superior to multi-disciplinary or interdisciplinary models in the area of early intervention. It insures the best possible focus on the 'whole child' leading to well-integrated assessments and programmes.

PARENT INVOLVEMENT AND SERVICE DELIVERY

The involvement of parents is of major concern to me. Programmes in the United States varied greatly in this regard. Many of the programmes I visited were centre-based and contacts of any substance with parents were either infrequent or elaborately arranged for. I am not in favour of full day centre-based programmes for most infants or young children with special needs but feel that at least two other options are viable in the New Zealand situation.

The first is a home-based programme where weekly or fortnightly visits are made to the home by the key worker. Assessment/goal setting/programming sessions with the parents are held at least twice a year by the full team and reviews of progress are held by the team in between times – perhaps monthly – to alter programmes as required.

The second option is where parents and children attend a weekly or fortnightly session as a group and ongoing individual programming to meet identified needs is conducted in this setting. Once again I think that assessments and goal setting sessions should be held at least twice a year.

Both of these options can offer a high level of parent involvement in each child's programme. Some parents will enjoy the support to be derived as members of a group session and will be able to attend on a regular basis, while other parents will always prefer to have a worker come to their home. Certainly it is easier for the team to devise a suitable programme for goal attainment when a member of the team is familiar with the home environment of the child.

Children of an appropriate age should also attend the early childhood centre of their parents' choice with support provided as required.

SERVICES TO THE MAORI PEOPLE AND OTHER MINORITY ETHNIC GROUPS

The matter of provision of a satisfactory service to these people is one which must be addressed. As a member of an early intervention team for several years now, I am very aware that those families whose needs we seem to meet best are those whose beliefs and way of life are most similar to those of ourselves. I had the opportunity while in the United States to speak with Bruce Ramires of the Council for Exceptional Children who has responsibility for ethnic and multi-cultural concerns. He feels that early intervention services to members of minority ethnic groups are best provided by members of that same ethnic group. However, given that such people are not well represented, if at all in some instances, in the professions involved in early intervention this is not very realistic at present. Nevertheless, provision of the one-year training course I spoke about before, is one possible way of increasing the availability of minority group representation in early intervention. The key worker or itinerant teacher at the very least should reflect local community composition more accurately.

CONTINUITY OF SERVICE IN THE TRANSITION TO SCHOOL

I feel that in New Zealand we have adequate opportunities to assist children with special needs transfer into the school system successfully. Psychologists and speech-language therapists are used to working in schools. They have a good knowledge of special services available in their area and good contacts with those services. This is less true of physical therapists who are mainly employed by hospital boards or area health boards. However, these people have an important liaison function with the hospital based services and other community health services often required by children with special needs. In the United States quite elaborate transition to school programmes are developed as formal procedures whereas much more informal procedures are possible here. By informal, I do not of course mean casual or slipshod, but user-friendly. Individual educational plans developed in partnership by parents and professionals in the preschool years need to be continued through the school years and an IEP conference prior to school entry is an important mechanism for ensuring continuity.

Lastly I would like to comment on the usually part-time nature of early intervention teams in this country. Full-time team operation in the United States certainly facilitates easier team co-ordination and cohesion but has the problem of creating a 'separateness' from the school system. Given that some personnel are employed by education authorities and others by health authorities in New Zealand it seems important that the advisory committees, suggested earlier, play a leading role in ensuring that each team has defined duties and a defined time allocation to devote to their work. This should avoid the problem of individual team members being overloaded with competing responsibilities for their time by their respective employing authorities.

All of these issues, and others I have not had time to discuss, are important for the continued development of early intervention services in New Zealand. The development of national guidelines would be of great benefit in this regard.

17

EDUCATION ADMINISTRATION: REFLECTIONS ON THE PICOT REPORT

Maurice Gianotti

In the time available I intend to restrict my remarks to the administration of education, and more specifically to the impact of American ideas on the recommendations proposed by the Taskforce to Review Education Administration. In doing that, however, I will inevitably need to refer to the purposes of education because objectives determine the organisation, not the other way round. That is to say in the words of the Taskforce, 'while we have concentrated on the administrative structure, we are aware that any structure should exist to serve a purpose. Such structures should not exist in a vacuum or for purposes solely their own.'[1]

One of the major themes of government administration in both New Zealand and the United States is the relationship between central and local or district authorities, often referred to as devolution of authority because of the direction it is mainly taking today.

New Zealand education has been characterised by a centralisation of power and responsibility up until about three years ago. The previous one hundred or so years of our educational history has been dominated by an accretion of power to the central Department of Education, aided and supported by the teachers organisations.

The United States system, in contrast, has always been highly decentralised, having 16,000 or so largely autonomous school districts ranging in size from one school to systems with 3,000,000 or so students. You may be surprised to learn that the Taskforce did not have decentralisation or devolution as an assumption or principle. Their approach was rather different. They took the view that there are a large number of decisions to be made in the life of an educational institution. Those decisions they thought should be made at the most appropriate level – not the lowest or most peripheral level in the system. Here the most appropriate level means where there is the most knowledge able to be brought to bear, where there is the strongest interest in the outcome and where the impact of the decision will be most acutely felt. Not surprisingly, that often turns out to be at the institution itself.

So the Taskforce came to a position where it recommended considerable control at the school or institution. That could be seen as a strong decentralising tendency. The Taskforce recommended, however, that some decision-making be more centralised than before. For example, most school building decisions are now made at the district level whereas the Taskforce has proposed that they be made by the central Ministry of Education, largely because of the specialised skills and knowledge required and because of the need, on efficiency grounds, to be able to move buildings to whichever sector and whichever part of the country they are required.

Funding of education is a matter which generates a good deal of heat – mainly because of the recurrent view that it is insufficient. Who should pay excites less comment in New Zealand and in that respect we are quite different to American school districts. The Taskforce was well aware that in the United States local taxes provided a good deal of the funding of schools with state and federal money being used 'to top up' local provisions of fund specific programmes. In spite of the potential benefits of parent and community involvement at schools that flow from local funding, the Taskforce considered from the outset of its discussions that in New Zealand the state will continue to be the principal funder of formal education. That is, of course, entirely consistent with our history.

The Taskforce spent a good deal of effort and imagination to develop proposals which provide the widest possible range of options for learners. In developing those proposals the Taskforce examined very carefully all the available literature on voucher systems of education. While that literature comes from Britain as well as the United States the only attempt to actually test a voucher system in practice occurred in the United States in the 1970s in Alum Rock (California).

Proponents of vouchers maintain that such a scheme is the best means of not only providing choice, but of achieving the numerous objectives which lie at the heart of any education system. They include high achievement levels, individual fulfilment, equality of opportunity, accountability and responsiveness, innovation and cost effectiveness. The Taskforce, as you will know from its report, subscribed to all of those objectives. Why then did it reject such a straightforward method of achieving those complex and difficult to measure objectives? In effect the Taskforce came to the conclusion that voucher systems are not all they claim to be. Indeed the Taskforce concluded that voucher systems, in the New Zealand context at least, did not promote choice at all for most parents. Leaving to one side the many towns in New Zealand where there is only one school the Taskforce came to the view that parents would be better served, and so would society in a social cohesion sense, by being given the power to change their local school into what they wanted it to be rather than having the power to shop around until they find a school which offers what they want.

That is to say, the Taskforce viewed education not so much as a personal product as a public good. Parents should be asking themselves what a good public education for the community's children is rather than about what is a good school for my children. In coming to that conclusion the Taskforce was aware that few parents may actually be able to exercise the choice of enrolling in a popular school and many would be turned away. That hardly promotes choice.

One of the differences I observed in the small number of schools and school districts I visited in the United States was a strong emphasis on setting clear, specific objectives, which state the intended learning outcomes. That is something we have not done well in New Zealand in my opinion. In my experience learning objectives are often too broad, too vague and too complex to be a useful guide to determining learning experiences. There are, of course, dangers. If learning objectives are too knowledge or skill based the curriculum can become too narrow, and important, but less precise, learning objectives undervalued. The Taskforce accepted that learning objectives need to be far more detailed than they often are now. They also need to be debated and the 'hidden curriculum' made as explicit as possible. The mechanism they chose is a school charter in which, within national guidelines, schools and communities will be required to get into a dialogue about what the school is there for and how it can be achieved. The charter has close parallels with some of the school accreditation mechanisms I saw being developed in Jackson, Mississippi.

A related element here is, of course, evaluation, checking up on what is being achieved. That is a very difficult task if you are not sure what you were setting out to do in the first place. I think that is why evaluation has had such a poor press in New Zealand schools, and has been too long undervalued as an important tool in improving learning. I had the strong impression that evaluation is given considerable prominence in United States schools and its dangers were clearly evident. There was no doubt in my mind that evaluation in the form of achievement testing was having a strong backwash effect on what was taught. Elements which were not subject to testing tended to be ignored. That again places considerable importance on carefully setting the objectives in the first place.

Any discussion of learning outcomes leads inevitably to a consideration of notions of accountability. New Zealand teachers have observed for some years that notions of accountability have had a considerably sharper edge in the United States than we have been used to here. That edge has been honed somewhat in recent years by the slogan of the effective schools proponents (*Every Child Can Learn*).[2]

The clear implication is that if a child does not learn the school must be at fault. The point was made to me by Professor Wilbur Brookover, quoting from an address by the late Dr Ron Edmonds:

> We can, whenever and wherever we choose, successfully teach all children whose schooling is of interest to us. We already know more than we need to do that. Whether or not we do it must finally depend on how we feel about the fact that we haven't so far.[3]

For its part the Taskforce took the view that those who spend public money on behalf of others need to be held accountable for the outcomes. The mechanism they chose is an independent review and audit team which has no other functions to confuse its role. Here I want to draw your attention to the use of the word review rather than inspection, because there has been some misunderstanding on what the Taskforce proposed. Essentially the Taskforce had in mind an interactive process in which a knowledgeable but impartial group would help a school to assess how it is getting on in achieving the objectives it set itself in its charter. The notion of involving local people on the review team, and providing a report in draft form for a term before a further visit and final report is written, are part of the consultancy concept which is commonly accepted in the wider community.[4]

I should perhaps have added that the Taskforce's views on accountability also influenced its other proposals. From the earliest discussion Taskforce members were quite clear that genuine accountability is a meaningless concept unless two preconditions are met. In the first place those having responsibility or power to take action must have a clear and detailed knowledge of what they are expected to achieve, preferably expressed in terms of outcomes. And in the second place they must have control over the resources available to do the job. If either of these conditions is not met accountability can be avoided in spite of the outcomes. That is to say, people can hardly be held accountable if they have no real idea of what is required of them, even if they have unlimited control and access to resources. Similarly they cannot be held accountable if they know what is required but they have no power to direct resources to the achievement of it.

The Taskforce saw the school charter as the way of ensuring that everyone knew what was required. And to make the achievement meaningful, they wanted the school to have the maximum possible control over the resources able to be brought to bear on the educational enterprise principals and trustees would be charged with running efficiently and effectively.

In recent years there has been a recurring theme in all the United States literature on the characteristics of successful schools. That is the notion of the visionary principal who has a clear idea of what the school can become and is able to communicate that to the staff and community and gain their commitment to it. This notion is central to writers identified with organisation development[5] and effective schools.[6] It has also been confirmed by New Zealand based research of the kind carried out by Peter Ramsay and his associates at the University of Waikato.[7] The central feature that emerges and is repeated over and over again in all of this work is that the successful principal has to be a good practitioner, an instructional leader who has credibility with teachers and can offer detailed, specific and helpful advice to teachers. A person who can help teachers identify what the educational problem is, and who can assist in developing realistic and meaningful solutions.

The Taskforce was very clear about its views on this matter, involving as it does the notion of a collaborative relationship among staff, and between principal and staff, that must be protected and enhanced. The Taskforce concept of principalship is set out on page 51[8] and that concept guided a lot of its thinking on other matters. It led the Taskforce, for example, to reject the notion of wholly university based training programmes for teachers which is the more common model in the United States. The Taskforce therefore proposed that teacher training be undertaken in semi-autonomous schools of universities in such a way that the integrity of teacher education is retained. At the same time the Taskforce wanted teacher training to benefit from the broader academic base and professional stimulation and impetus of a closer relationship with a university.[9]

One issue which is fundamental to the Taskforce Report is clearly based on the American model, but has received almost no comment since the Taskforce report was released. I am referring to a unified teaching service, particularly primary and secondary education. Americans, in my experience, are often surprised at the unnecessary administrative barriers which appear to have been erected in this country and which often frustrate attempts at co-operation among the various sectors of the education service. The Taskforce was surprised by, and was quite critical of the distinctions in training, appointment procedures, promotion systems, salary scales and qualification requirements. The Taskforce could see no real justification for these differences and proposed that they be eliminated unless they can be shown to be based on sound educational reasons.

In its proposals the Taskforce did not make a big issue of unification of the service. What it did instead was develop a basic model of administration for all schools and then note any differences between sectors that would have to be maintained, as they occurred in the discussion. That turned out to be a masterly understatement, because if you examine the report carefully in Chapter 5 you would find that subsequently no distinctions between the administration of primary and secondary schools are mentioned. The assumption therefore has to be that administratively they will be treated in the same way in every respect. Differences thought necessary for the proper running of early childhood and tertiary institutions are set out but none were thought necessary for primary and secondary schools. I confess then to some surprise to read that the primary teachers organisation is critical of the Taskforce for not proposing the unification of the service.[10]

How to ensure equal employment opportunities for all people, but particularly for women, people from all social and ethnic groups and people with handicapping conditions, has been much in the forefront of public policy discussions in the United States for some years. It is a central issue in New Zealand, too, and it concerned the Taskforce greatly to such an extent that to help ensure equal employment opportunities the Taskforce put forward one proposal which was not consistent with one of its basic principles. To my knowledge such a deliberate inconsistency only occurs once in the whole report. The basic principle is the notion that decisions should be made at the appropriate level. To be consistent with that principle the Taskforce proposed that appointment decisions for all basic scale positions and principals' positions should be made at the school. They then became inconsistent, and diminished the notion of accountability as well, by proposing that recommendations for promotion positions, except principals, should be made by a staffing committee consisting of the principal, the chairperson of the board and a teacher from another school. The reason for doing this was a concern about equal employment opportunities. The Taskforce was told and accepted that most of the initiatives, which had promoted improved promotion opportunities for previously disadvantaged groups, have been the result of central policies rather than from groups at the periphery of the system. The Taskforce had no reason to doubt that and such was its concern to maintain gains made in recent years, and hopefully to improve on them, that it was prepared to modify other principles it held to be important.

You may well ask, of course, what of principals' positions? Aren't those even more important? And of course they are when we are talking about equal employment outcomes. The Taskforce took the view, however, that boards of trustees had to have unhindered opportunity to pick the principal they wanted if they were to be held accountable for the outcomes of their stewardship. I should perhaps add to that the Taskforce proposed a mechanism, in the charter, to ensure that each board of trustees properly reflects the characteristics of its community, has an explicit equal employment policy and criteria for appointment.[11] Those measures, they felt, taken together would protect the interests of groups who have clearly been disadvantaged in the past.

The Taskforce also proposed, as you will know, that a review and audit agency will have the power to check on what trustees are doing in terms of their charter. What I am saying here is that the Taskforce report is a carefully crafted series of checks and balances. It must be looked at as a whole rather than looking at proposals individually. The Taskforce made this point in sending their report to the Government for consideration.

Not unexpectedly, American ideas, policy and practice have had a marked effect on the report on education administration. Some ideas have been accepted unreservedly such as the role of the principal, some have been modified, such as notions of accountability and some have not been adopted at all, such as local funding of public education. What all that amounts to, of course, is that New Zealanders are a pragmatic lot who tend to pick up ideas wherever they can, but who seldom swallow them whole. In doing that we tend to modify ideas to suit them to our circumstances. That is no more than you would expect and does not reflect adversely on anyone else who may have had the germ of the idea first.

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18

THE IMPACT OF AMERICAN IDEAS ON NEW ZEALAND NURSING EDUCATION

Part 1

The View From *The Journal*

Jocelyn Keith

Over 100 years ago, Florence Nightingale argued that,

> We should give the best training we can to any woman of any class, of any sect, paid or unpaid, who has the necessary qualifications – moral, intellectual, or physical – for the vocation of a nurse. Unquestionably, the educated will be more likely to rise to the position of Superintendents, not because they are ladies, but because they are educated.[1]

New Zealand nursing and American nursing come from the same stock, the Florence Nightingale school. Although they function in quite different contexts with quite different systems of health delivery, in their own way, each has striven to achieve the Nightingale goal for nursing education.

This review of the *New Zealand Nursing Journal: Kai Taiki* (the watcher, the guardian) through the years since 1908 attempts to document some of the influences of the United States on nursing education in New Zealand as they appeared through anecdote, advertisement, letter to the editor, feature or reprinted journal article.

In doing so, one pattern becomes very clear. While New Zealand nursing education has been marching to the same drum as has North American nursing, New Zealand nursing administration has persisted in marching to the British drum. This has resulted in tensions and strains in the heart of nursing, clinical practice.

The New Zealand Nursing Journal began in 1908. Hester MacLean, founding editor (and owner until 1923 when the National Nurses Association took it over), wrote in her first editorial that it was a 'little paper' for the nurses of New Zealand to accept or reject.[2] She saw it forming a link between New Zealand nurses, and between them and the members of their profession throughout the world. This role it did serve.

As the editor of the *American Journal of Nursing* was to write in the fiftieth jubilee issue of the New Zealand journal in 1958;

> How else could we be so well aware of what our sisters on the other side of the world are doing, how similar their problems and activities are to ours, and how many common interests we share.[3]

New Zealand nursing of 1908 was fiercely British and the early journals are full of references to the 'Old Country' and 'Home'. American nursing, too, was drawing on British thinking and ideals at this time, especially through its membership of the International Council of Nurses. Mrs Bedford Fenwick, the British President of that body is reported in the 1901 *American Journal of Nursing* as giving notice of the movement for higher education for nurses. In an article entitled 'A Plea for the Higher Education of Trained Nurses', she advanced four reasons;

> the advanced level of many of the activities they perform;
>
> the development of intelligence and vitality in keeping abreast of advances in science and in hospital economics;
>
> the cultivation of the individual personality;
>
> the evolution of a strong sense of civic responsibility.

It is interesting to note that, not only was the first course for nurses at Teachers College, Columbia University, on hospital economics, but economics was one of the main courses taught by a member of the Victoria University College when the New Zealand Post-Graduate School for Nurses, established under the auspices of the Department of Health, was opened in 1928.

Clearly civic responsibility was already being actively cultivated in both New Zealand and the United States. At the same time as Lavinia Dock was being jailed in America as a suffragette, New Zealand women had already achieved suffrage in 1893 – the first in the world to do so. New Zealand nursing, too, was carving its own proud path, having achieved the honour of being the first country to have State registration of nurses in 1901. Nevertheless, the early journals constantly reveal a concern that New Zealand nurses should be acceptable in Britain, a concern to be repeated at regular intervals such as when changes were proposed in basic nursing curriculum in 1957, and as thousands of nurses from this country worked in Britain during their 'OE' (overseas experience).

This has not been without its surprises – a 1919 journal records the observation by the so-called Anzac nurses that;

> There is, we fear, no doubt that the position of the nurse in a general way is not in the Home Country by any means equal to that she holds in the Colonies.[4]

Even more telling is the comment reprinted from the 1919 *British Journal of Nursing* that;

> [the pay of nurses in the British army] is considerably less than that paid to any of the Army Services in the Dominions; less than that hitherto paid in the New Zealand services, which has recently been considerably raised with effect from April 1, 1918.[5]

The October 1918 New Zealand journal quotes the British journal again;

> It is not generally known that the Nursing Services from the Dominions overseas have been practically independent and organised on a more liberal and up-to-date system than those controlled by our War Office.[6]

Just as New Zealand nurses were beginning to ask questions about the standing and the pay of their British sisters, so they were questioning the existing system of education:

> The making of the trained nurse, following the lines of British use, has taken shape without the laying down of any definite plan... Is this method of training the best? [Nurses] have for so long been told to go there, to come here... that a crushed individuality avenges itself in a reaction of frivolity or grumbling.[7]

There are lessons to be learned from across the Pacific. The editorial in the October 1918 journal comments;

> We fear that we are too self-centred. When we read the accounts of the recent proceedings of the 12th annual meeting of the American Nurses Association, with the many thoughtful papers... we realise that our nurses do not think sufficiently about the many phases of their work which constantly present features calling for thought and comment.[8]

Then, as now, both countries tried to find ways of retaining trained nurses. The United States advocated two levels of nursing.[9] This met with opposition in egalitarian New Zealand. The United States sought to increase efficiency by relieving nurses of non-nursing duties. Both countries advocated opportunities for advanced education but unlike the United States, New Zealand seems to have lacked philanthropists to fund this.

Since the Civil War, America's philanthropic community had been a principal resource behind the extraordinary expansion of that country's nurse training schools. The same was true for the establishment of university schools to prepare nurse leaders. Some, such as Teachers College, Columbia, received major philanthropic help from private philanthropists (in their case from Helen Hartley Jenkins, a Columbia trustee). The same was true of the Frances Payne Bolton School of Nursing at Western Reserve University. The great philanthropic foundations, especially the Rockefeller Foundation, the W.K. Kellogg Foundation, the Russell Sage Foundation, and the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation[10] have all served American nursing well. New Zealand nursing has also benefited from American generosity but it has rarely been able to solicit or attract similar support at home. Three of the proposals for university courses for nurses promulgated – one in 1910 by Dr Pabst in Auckland, one in Otago in 1925, and at Victoria in 1960, despite substantial planning, collapsed for want of funding.

Indeed, the influence of American philanthropy was to be substantial directly and indirectly, in New Zealand. Mary Lambie, who was one of the nurses sent abroad – in her case, to the University of Toronto – in anticipation of the staffing needs of the Otago programme, was to be one of New Zealand nursing's most powerful leaders. Because of a misunderstanding, Miss Lambie arrived in Toronto in the spring, at the end of the academic year so was diverted to Teachers College, Columbia in New York for their summer session before returning to Toronto in the fall. She was also able to spend time at Western Reserve University Hospital, Cleveland, studying their integrated curriculum. This was to be the beginning of a long connection for New Zealand nurses with both the University of Toronto and Teachers College, Columbia University. It was also to set in train an example of Kiwi pragmatism when circumstances appear to militate against them. A direct result of the collapse of the Otago proposal and Miss Lambie's North American experience was the establishment of the Post-Graduate School for Nurses by the Department of Health, in conjunction with Victoria University College, Wellington.

Miss Lambie was to return to North America, and especially Toronto, many times during her active career, each time writing and speaking extensively both at home and abroad. Her visit in 1936 included visits to Seattle, Vancouver, Albany, Richmond (Virginia), Philadelphia, Washington, and Minnesota, as well as to her old haunts of Cleveland, Toronto, and New York.

Given this marked absence of local philanthropists, it is interesting to note the New Zealand Government's reluctance to allow Miss Lambie to accept a Rockefeller Travelling Scholarship in 1936 because 'the Government considered that New Zealand should award its own Fellowships and not be dependent on an American Foundation'.[11] One wonders how her persuasive arguments at this time influenced subsequent decisions about study opportunities for New Zealand nurses. When Flora Cameron, who was to succeed Miss Lambie as Director, Division of Nursing, went to Toronto University School of Nursing in 1938, it was again on a Rockefeller Fellowship. When Miss Joyce Alley, also destined to be a tutor at the Post-graduate School, was sent off to Britain, this time on a New Zealand scholarship, she managed to have a 'period in North America on her way home'.[12]

Just as the journals of the years 1914-1918 had featured war details and appeals to nationalistic fervour, World War II produced a new wave of British patriotism, and as our markets, especially our sheepmeat and butter exports, went, so did our nurses. However, some of them succumbed to the charms of the American servicemen sent to New Zealand for R&R (rest and relief) and went to the United States as war brides. The journal was again full of nurses travelling to England by ship (six weeks via either Suez or Panama), working in St Thomas's (or St Mary's or Paddington) Hospital, only very occasionally visiting North America on the way home.

But while Britain and her former colonies had been struggling to survive the war, scientific advancement, and along with it, academic advancement in the United States had continued almost unabated. The American publishers had been busy, and so too had the new breed of nurse textbook-writer, the university-qualified nurse. One bookshop advertisement in the June 1948 edition of the journal features 10 American out of the 15 advertised texts, all written either by nurses in tandem or by nurses alone.[13]

Another more recent offering, 1956, demonstrates the two strands of nursing textbook development. Twelve books are listed, the first six from Britain with titles such as *The Whys and Wherefores of Tuberculosis* by G. Day M.D., *Thoracic Surgery for Nurses* by M.S. Belcher F.R.C.S., the second group from W.B. Saunders, Philadelphia including topics such as *Ethics – With Special Application to the Medical and Nursing Professions* and *Threshold to Professional Nursing Practice* by F.M. McKenna.[14]

Sometimes it was left to non-nurses to provide insights. H.D. Jamieson, M.Sc. offered some reflections on nursing in the United States in the February journal of 1956;

> American nurses are more concerned with nursing and less with housework than their New Zealand counterparts. The shortage of nurses is being dealt with by reallocating non-nursing tasks such as meal service, and nurses are accorded equal rights with all other staff. There is little evidence of the demarcation seen in New Zealand and in the United Kingdom.

All in all, there was more variety, a greater ethnic mix, and a greater freedom in North America. The writer had been impressed by the efficiency and inherent kindness shown to patients by American nurses, while concluding that under that somewhat superficial layer produced by tradition and the environment, people were much the same in being human and likeable.[15]

Professor Eric Nansen of Auckland University, wrote of some aspects of a Canadian hospital in the August 1958 edition:

> The teaching side [of nursing] is different from the nursing [side]. The matron runs the nursing side – the teaching is done by professors of nursing. This means that the teaching side can be organised as totally distinct from the needs of the hospital... This ensures that the student nurse gets the

> proper proportion of practical training irrespective of the needs of the hospital.[16]

These comments reflect the chronic tension within nursing, the competing and even incompatible goals of nursing service and nursing education. The North American success in establishing nurses with student status within schools of nursing not controlled by the matrons of hospitals had always intrigued New Zealand nurses and over the years there is a steady stream of references, some approving, others seeking a compromise. The editorial in October 1922 noted;

> The suggestion of the American authority for shorter hours of duty, less housework, better housing, we need not consider but an improved system of teaching could be instituted by special people being approved for that work and adequately paid... I do not think at the present time the conditions are suitable for any professional course of training for nurses other than the apprenticeship.[17]

The October 1923 issue quotes a nurse writing home from America about New Zealand nurse training. She considered, 'the American student gets too much theory and not enough practical experience... The newly-graduated nurse... must still get the experience that in our New Zealand training schools she obtains in her third year [as a student]'.[18]

The annual meeting of the New Zealand Trained Nurses Association in November 1923 reviewed the so-called Goldmark report on Nursing Education in the United States 'as far as they related to nursing conditions in New Zealand'.[19] The journal of January 1924 draws particular attention to the observation in the report that in typical American nurse training [hospital] schools, the instruction was frequently casual and uncorrelated with the educational needs, health and strength of students being frequently sacrificed to practical hospital experience. Perhaps more significantly at a time when New Zealand was mounting a very nearly-successful attempt to establish a university course for nurses at Otago University, the same issue of the journal quoted the statement from the Goldmark report that 'the development and strengthening of university schools of nursing of high grade for the training of leaders is of fundamental importance in the furtherance of nursing education'.[20]

Health care and the philosophy of health were also undergoing radical change. Miss Lambie, a regular contributor to the journal as well as to every other sphere of nursing life in New Zealand, wrote in 1953;

> For many years, a few authorities, particularly the Rockefeller Foundation have considered that curative and preventive medicine are one, and that health workers, both doctors as well as nurses, should be trained in such a way that this concept would be automatically practised. Endeavours have been made to carry out this plan in certain Universities, but, alas, the demands made by curative medicine are such that it has been almost impossible for the workers to put into practice what ideally they have been taught... How then to make the best use of existing personnel and to produce the right mental attitude? The Hospital Schools of Nursing have enjoyed an unrivalled clinical field and opportunities for practical experience in regard to patient care in bed and to the cultivation of a sense of responsibility, but they fail because of the demand for staffing needs in certain sections of the hospital and cannot give experience in the field of preventive medicine in the home.[21]

The August 1959 journal quoted a Dr R.C. Wallace of Canada:

> Nursing education has a particular quality in that until recently it has been confined to hospitals and under hospital administration. What it has gained in intensity of detail, it has lost in breadth. It is my conviction that the relationship to the hospital will become less fixed and rigid as time goes on and that universities will play a large part in the education of nurses as they are already beginning to do.

This view was not unanimously supported and its proponents in New Zealand faced the same battles as their counterparts elsewhere. Old arguments were revived. There were echoes of the responses to the 1925 Rockefeller report answering criticism that nursing care was 'overtrained in theory, widely professionalised, lacking in practicality and docility' by explaining that 'if you are to attract young women with initiative, imagination, and a liking for responsibility, then you must reduce standardisation, and increase your attraction in order to compete with the other opportunities'. Young women, the report said, cannot be conscripted, evangelised, or hypnotised into a nursing career.[22]

In July 1961, Elizabeth Orbell, sent by the New Zealand Government to study at Boston University, reviewed in the journal some of the lessons she had gained from her American experience;

> In more and more countries, [the expert clinical nurse] is being given a university education... In this country, probably because of our insecurity

> and perhaps with a little feeling of jealousy, we are apt to rationalise about university education for nurses, by constantly asserting that university education and good practical nursing cannot be compatible. If we continue to take this attitude, we will be making a colossal mistake – a mistake too costly to indulge at this stage.[23]

New Zealand by this time was making a substantial contribution to the international nursing world – sometimes in collaboration, sometimes alone. Miss Lambie chaired the highly influential Expert Committee on Nursing of the World Health Organisation which produced the first of many WHO reports on nursing in 1950. Miss Petry, the Chief Nurse Officer of the United States Public Health Service was the rapporteur. In addition, New Zealand nurses were especially active through WHO. The journal of 1953 lists seven New Zealand nurses[24] absent at one time, but there were many more. This combined with our consistently high profile in the International Council of Nurses to increase New Zealand exposure to 'things American' enormously. Air travel was replacing sea travel. As New Zealand nurses braved the unknown American continent – for that is how they saw it – and came home to report that the natives were friendly, the prospect of American study began to appear more attractive. The hierarchical structure was easing a little and nurses throughout the world were becoming more assertive. Like New Zealand nurses before them, the travellers were amazed at the readiness of the American people to take them to their hearts. Many reiterated the feelings expressed by earlier generations of nurses such as those contained in 'An interesting letter' written home from San Francisco and reprinted in the April 1921 journal:

> I consider the nurses here do not know they are alive. Americans seem very warm-hearted and make us very much at home. Whenever I open my mouth, they stare at me, just because I speak differently....[and as for food] I have a healthy girl's appetite, but I simply cannot keep up with these Americans.[25]

The reception of New Zealand nurses able to visit the United States whether as students, travellers or as employees has always been generous. In their turn they have earned high praise. The January 1924 journal quotes one of the chiefs of the Board of Examiners for registration in New York State thus;

> We consider that the New Zealand nurses are the best or one of the best groups of nurses in the world. They would be accepted anywhere.[26]

The travel increased in both directions, by invitation or by accident. When nurses of New Zealand donated money in memory of Flora Jean Cameron, Director, Division of Nursing and erstwhile student of Kathleen Russell at the University of Toronto, what more fitting memorial than a research and education foundation. This foundation (generally referred to as NERF – the Nursing Education and Research Foundation) has brought no fewer than seven travelling scholars to this country, almost all from North America. Each has travelled extensively and their travels and thinking have been widely reported in the journal.

One of the most significant of the American scholars was Dr Margaret Shetland, who came in 1975 to evaluate the efforts in one of the early nursing departments within a university. She was used extensively by the New Zealand Nurses Association at their conferences and her name became associated for all time in the minds of New Zealand nurses with her work on standards. She was our first and, thus far, our only visiting Fulbright Scholar. Her impact on the practice of nursing, that area of tension between the competing goals of nursing education and nursing administration, is still being felt.

The journal also records the changing pattern of travel for New Zealand nurses. Whereas the pre-World War Two nurses mostly went 'Home' and worked in British hospitals, writing chatty letters to the editor about the novelties they saw and experienced, the post-war journals reveal a steady increase of New Zealand nurses winning scholarships to study, especially in North America. Alice Fieldhouse (Reid) will long be remembered as the first New Zealand nurse to win what is now a Harkness Fellowship to attend Teachers College, Columbia University in 1951. The journal records both her departure[27] and her return to teach at the Post-Graduate School for Nurses, armed with an MA and with revolutionary ideas especially about the teaching of nursing. She served on the editorial Board of the journal and many of the reviews, especially of American books, bear her initials.

The days of the Post-Graduate School were becoming numbered. As New Zealand nurses returned from university programmes, they began to realise the deficiencies of a school separated from the formal education system of the country. The journal had faithfully documented the career of the school, especially with regard to the sterling service to the nurses of the developing world regularly pictured in their national dress at the annual graduation.[28] Elizabeth Orbell had set the demise of the school in train after her stint at Boston University, Beatrice Salmon brought to it her wisdom and Canadian experience at McGill University, Montreal. New Zealand was making its third attempt to establish a university programme for nurses.

At the same time as the 1961 journal was reporting Beatrice Salmon in the Christmas snow of Montreal,[29] it was also recording the experiences of Nancy Kinross, the first New Zealand nurse to receive a Fulbright travelling fellowship, at the University of California.[30] It was this nurse who was to become New Zealand's first Professor of Nursing in 1984, a year which saw not one but two chairs of nursing established at New Zealand universities.[31]

If the days of the Post-Graduate School (by this time called the School of Advanced Nursing Studies) were numbered, so too were the days of the hospital schools of nursing. The initiative came from within the profession, fired by the vision of returning the scholars. In 1956 students of Elizabeth Orbell laboured to produce the so-called new curriculum for hospital schools, a curriculum which used the age-continuum approach, which began with health rather than disease. They found existing textbooks useless and hospital school nursing libraries inadequate, or worse, non-existent. Inevitably, hostility to innovation and change came from all quarters, within and without the profession. But there was no turning back.

The 75th jubilee issue of the New Zealand Nursing Journal breaks its tabular history of basic nursing education in New Zealand with a paragraph beside the year 1957;

> ... there commenced a decade of turmoil in nursing education with moves to increase readiness for the eventual transfer of nursing education into the general system of education combined with efforts to make the basic preparation of the nurse more comprehensive.[32]

At a 1932 conference on the international aspects of nursing education in honour of Annie W. Goodrich, Dean of the Yale University School of Nursing, Isabel Stewart, a much admired and influential Professor of Nursing from Columbia University, spoke on 'The Fundamental Differences in Representative Systems of Nursing Education';

> One of the things about which we have to warn our visitors from foreign lands who come to America to study our system, is that while we have been able to accomplish certain things with our rather cumbersome educational machinery, there is no reason why the newer countries should copy a system built half a century ago... Nothing is more encouraging [than to see] that they have been courageous enough to depart quite radically from the American pattern.

It was Miss Nightingale, she concluded, who said to an American nurse (Linda Richards): 'Go forward and outstrip us, that we in our turn may outstrip you'.[33]

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18

THE IMPACT OF AMERICAN IDEAS ON NEW ZEALAND NURSING EDUCATION

Part II

Change in New Zealand Nursing Education in the 1970s

Judith Christensen

Controversy and change have been, and continue to be, persistent themes in nursing education. Since 1973 the nature of basic nursing education, the type of registration attained, the status of the students, the site of the schools and the conditions of learning have undergone a revolution in New Zealand. Similar movements have occurred in the United States, Canada, Australia and Britain. Even so, the experience of each country is very different.

In this country, prior to 1973, a nurse gained registration through one of three types of three-year nursing programmes: general and obstetric, psychiatric or psychopaedic. Schools of nursing were operated by hospital boards which had the primary function of providing a regionally based health service funded by central government. During their training students were employees of the hospital board, receiving wages in return for providing the majority of the bedside nursing in hospitals. Formal education took the form of study days and/or study blocks interspersed with an employment-based rotation through a range of hospital wards.

In her 1965 report to the University Grants Committee, a Canadian consultant, Alma Reid, had identified major problems in the existing hospital-based system of preparing nurses for registration.[1]

Most of these were reiterated in the 1969 *Review of Hospital and Related Services*. The major problems could be summarised as follows;

> a large number of very small schools;
>
> a narrow 'hospital' orientation with a focus on acute care and with nursing primarily consisting of task performance according to established routines;
>
> rigid adherence to a national curriculum which established a minimum standard but which was an impediment to change and innovation;
>
> conflict between the needs of nursing service and nursing education, both the programme and the students;
>
> lack of qualified teaching staff;
>
> large dropout rate of students during the three years (over 50 percent);
>
> low retention rate of registered nurses.[2]

But this situation was not unique to New Zealand for in the United States the National Commission for the study of Nursing and Nursing Education published a report in 1970 which identified exactly the same problems, but included;

> the definition of what nursing is and how it differs from medicine;
>
> the need to analyse nursing knowledge and skills within a dialogue between nursing education and nursing service;
>
> changing patterns of health and health care, particularly health care within the community and the increased percentage of aged people, means there is a need to broaden the nursing focus in the curriculum away from an acute care emphasis.[3]

These issues were also of concern in New Zealand. One example is the comments of Ailsa McCutchan, Matron-in-Chief of the Waikato Hospital Board, and active within the New Zealand Nurses' Association at this time. She gave a damning yet insightful indictment of the existing situation in this country.

> The great majority of today's nurses emerge from a public-hospital-oriented apprenticeship, strangely biased in favour of physical abnormality. They know the hospitalised individual, the Maori baby with bronchopneumonia, anaemia and running ears; the elderly diabetic with gangrene; the drama of the coronary and the road accident; the crisis of the asthma and the suicide. But they know relatively little of the Maori family either in the pa or in the

> densely populated areas of the cities. They are only dimly aware of the full implications of age, mechanisation, automation, tension and of speed on our culture, and disproportionately few of them have even visited a psychiatric hospital. On the other hand a minority of nurses, i.e., those who have qualified in psychiatric hospitals, know the working rightly or wrongly of the mind, but send away for care elsewhere the people with physical illness. In a final crime against sense none of these nurses at registration is beyond kindergarten level when it comes to the concept of health, or of education for the promotion of health and active prevention to protect health. The very minimum of time has been spent on studying the laws of community and individual health: total health in its three aspects of the mind, the body, and the spirit.[4]

Similarly, Thelma Burton, then Dominion Secretary of the New Zealand Nurses' Association, wrote an editorial in 1970 which declared;

> ... we already recognise the need for the nurse to learn much before she can practice effectively. She needs an understanding not only of the facts of health and ill-health, but also of the needs of people, well and sick; she needs to have an understanding of the relationships between people and the meaning ill-health can have in this context; she needs to appreciate the effects of illness on the individual and his family... The registered nurse – God bless her – is expected to comfort, support, observe, understand, teach, advise, direct, administer and plan...[5]

Although the problems were shared, each country has found different solutions. In the United States multiple avenues to one type of registration have been developed – the two year associate degree offered in community colleges, the remaining traditional but now student-based three year diploma programme offered by hospital schools of nursing, and the four year baccalaureate degree. Nurses can gradually but easily move from one level to another. Indeed, many associate degree programmes even give licensure as a practical nurse to those completing the first year of the two year programme so that they have a qualification if they choose to withdraw at that stage, or if they fail the second year. However, in most states, the basic university degree has been given priority as the preferred programme.

New Zealand nursing leaders rejected the idea of registration through a two year programme along the lines of the associate degree, although there was some pressure from non-nurses to do this. Experience had also taught those nurses involved in the deliberations that there would be insurmountable obstacles to the introduction of a baccalaureate programme leading to registration. The planned growth of a network of technical institutes together with an enthusiastic response, particularly from the Principal of Wellington Polytechnic, made a three year course within this setting a real possibility. Elsie Boyd, Assistant Director of Nursing (Nursing Education) in the Department of Health at the time, remembers Bas Potter saying 'You get us the tutors and we'll do it!' Thus, albeit against opposition, the decision was finally made to pilot a comprehensive programme, combining the existing three separate programmes, as the single route to registration at Wellington Polytechnic and Christchurch Technical Institute. This course was to be similar in duration, setting and educational conditions to the new programmes in the related professions of occupational therapy and physiotherapy – that is, it was to have a comfortable 'fit' with the changing New Zealand educational environment and not to be an imposition from abroad – a directly transplanted North American idea. However, this did not stop opponents of the scheme from using this accusation as the major thrust of their arguments.

Indeed, the battle to change nursing education from hospital and employee-based to college and student-based was hard fought and many nurses still bear the scars caused during the long campaign to persuade nursing peers, politicians, colleagues particularly in the medical profession, and the public that major changes were needed. Elsie Boyd remembers being influenced by the success of American arguments to politicians that hospital-based programmes were very expensive. On examination, New Zealand figures confirmed this and this was one persuasive point used to influence local politicians.

Also influential was the report of another overseas consultant, Dr Helen Carpenter from the University of Toronto.[6] Her nationality, and that of Alma Reid, is significant as it was apparently felt that a Canadian was more 'acceptable' than an American, perhaps because of ties through the Commonwealth.

So, in 1973 university nursing programmes for registered nurses finally began at Massey and Victoria Universities, and the transfer of basic nursing education from hospitals to colleges commenced. The recently announced package of changes completes that transfer with courses in fifteen technical institutes. It is in these new programmes that the American influence on nursing education is most clearly seen. As Jocelyn Keith has noted, American journals and textbooks began to appear during the fifties and sixties. Of significance was the publication in 1961 by the International Council of Nurses of a little book called *Basic Principles of Nursing Care* by Virginia Henderson, an acclaimed American nurse. Nurse tutors began to plan the students' introduction to nursing using a nursing model but the major focus of the curriculum was the medical model of diseases and treatments, usually grouped into body systems.

Although American textbooks such as the 1963, *Care of the Adult Patient* by Smith and Gipps, began to appear in nursing schools, students were issued almost exclusively with textbooks written by doctors – either British or their own New Zealand medical lecturers such as Drs Cable, Gowland, Cairney and Green – or lecture notes.

In the new nursing schools in technical institutes, tutors freed from the constraints of a prescribed national curriculum and the demands of the hospital, faced the challenge of developing curricula that were consistent with the changing pattern of health care. In the literature tutors discovered conceptual frameworks of nursing devised by American nurses as they sought to interpret nursing and to identify and organise the knowledge and skills graduates would need to function effectively in the changing nursing scene. By necessity, the lack of New Zealand literature and the continuing medical orientation of British nursing meant that textbooks were almost exclusively from America and occasionally Canada.

No one can deny the impact on New Zealand nursing of ideas developed by American nurse writers. Names like Roy, Rogers, Orem, Levine, Watson and many other American nurses became a part of the New Zealand nursing vocabulary as their ideas about the nature of nursing, the nursing relationship and the recipient of nursing were introduced to nurses throughout the country. In addition, the literature, together with visits to and from the United States, introduced new practices such as nursing process, nursing care plans, primary nursing, nursing diagnosis, and problem-oriented nursing. Quality assurance, autonomy, accountability and responsibility also received greater attention. All these and others have been absorbed into New Zealand nursing education and service. Indeed, when I visited North America in 1977 I discovered an immediate affinity with the ideas and practices within nursing curricula.

We share the language and the ideas but the settings are very different. Our three year programmes are closest to the American baccalaureate programme in duration and depth but each has its own nationally induced distinctive characteristics. That is how it should be.

When our first class graduated in 1975 I expressed our belief that;

> What we have striven to do is to produce a nurse acceptable in the New Zealand setting, able to adjust to the changing pattern of health care delivery, wanting to continue to give patient care after graduation.[7]

I think it would be fair to say that experience with student-based basic nursing programmes and nursing degree programmes throughout the country is giving nurse tutors the confidence to filter, with discrimination, the ideas of others. The availability of American nursing literature is still increasing and is valued. Two or three new journals seem to appear each year. Ideas are still coming thick and fast. They stimulate discussion of the issues and engender New Zealand responses. Some ideas are tried; some are amended and adapted; others are discarded. We have no cargo-cult mentality. Indeed, there is a healthy suspicion and questioning of the written word and especially of the overseas 'expert' who pops over for a visit!

I believe that there is a tremendous indigenous nursing wisdom in this country which is not freely available because of our hesitancy to publish our own ideas. America is not the sole source of new additions to the expanding body of nursing knowledge, but its contribution is undeniably a major one. We are grateful that the greater freedom and ability to publish that is the experience of our American colleagues allows us to share their ideas; that they welcome visitors such as myself; and that their universities, while finding difficulty in slotting our qualifications into their system, willingly accept New Zealand students who are able to work with current knowledge and contribute to its growth.

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18

THE IMPACT OF AMERICAN IDEAS ON NEW ZEALAND NURSING EDUCATION

Part III

Becoming Part of the Pattern

Merian Litchfield

I have been involved in nursing education for the past fifteen years, in a time of big change in the structure and direction of education programes as a more relevant preparation for nurses has been sought. The turbulence and strain of the present rapid changes in our living circumstances and the associated changes in health patterns continue to challenge the nature and goals of nursing education today. As a nurse educator, I recognise the need for an infusion of new ideas. Like my nursing colleagues of the past, I have sought to study beyond our shores.

It was a deliberate choice of mine to study in the United States for the key issues which I believe I need to address as an educator and one involved in the development of university education for nurses, are also being debated by nurse scholars in the universities of the United States. While conscious of the distinctiveness of our own national context, I seek to challenge and expand my ideas through participating in this debate with American nurses.

While there are these key issues of concern to nurses in both countries which provide common ground for debate, I find that they are themes recurring throughout most of this century, as nurses from this country have been drawn to seek new insights abroad. The key issues relate to the complexity of the health patterns today, the nature of nursing which addresses these health patterns, and the development of education for nurses to prepare them appropriately for this context.

The health circumstances of people are increasingly confusing in their complexity and are not adequately addressed within the current structures. With the focus of the health service on disease, the costs of medical diagnosis, treatments and cures are accelerating dreadfully with little abatement of the disabling consequences of disease. Movement toward the WHO 'Health for All by the Year 2000' goal espoused internationally, appears to be fraught with difficulty. The capacity of people to avoid illness, adjust to disease and disability and their treatments, and generally get on with life and living for their own well-being, and in the interests of the community and society as a whole, does not seem to be increasing.

However, new perspectives on health are emerging which go beyond the emphasis on the disease process, extend health care from the narrow hospital focus into the wider community, expand health care from its mechanistic and mind-body fragmentation into a more holistic approach, and render health care more sensitive to social and cultural variance. The meaning of such perspectives for health workers is debated but are generally acknowledged as offering hope for future direction for they fit comfortably for nurses with their caring focus.

Yet directions for reform in our systems for health care remain confused. Health services are being shaped by currently fashionable efficiency, market-oriented approaches. Within this context, nurses are increasingly challenged to defend what they have formerly taken for granted, as a highly valued though indefinable contribution to the health service. They now need to be definitive about the difference they make in health care in order to claim their fair share of the limited resources. Both the United States and New Zealand recognise there is a need for vision and clarification of the contribution of nursing in addressing the complexity of the changing health issues within this time of competition and resource constraint.

Nurse educators are also challenged to prepare nurses with an appropriate knowledge base to provide a service within this changing context and enable them to collaborate with other health workers in providing effective and efficient health care.

I see the need for scholarship in nursing to clarify our predicament, to facilitate vision of the way ahead and the planning required. It is the reflection upon and enquiry into the nature of health patterns of our people and the contribution of nursing within the health service alongside the contributions of other health care workers that is essential.

The need to explore these issues, such as the complexity of the health patterns today, the nature of nursing which addresses these health patterns, and the development of education for nurses, spurred me to undertake a programme of study abroad. Because these are also issues of concern to nurses in the United States and because the opportunities for nursing scholarship are well established in universities and acclaimed by the nursing community internationally, I was attracted to the United States for this study.

Interestingly such impetus for New Zealand nurses to visit the United States has been similar through the nursing history of much of this century. The story of the development of nursing education in the two countries brings to light the pattern of interaction between them, a pattern of which I am about to become a part.

As Jocelyn Keith has noted, nursing in both countries claims its origin in the vision of Florence Nightingale. Her insight provided the beginning impetus for the development of nursing as a profession. She recognised the need to educate nurses; the need for nurses to be knowledgeable about the work they undertook in addressing the plight of people of the time. Thus, following the lead of the United Kingdom, training schools for nurses were established in both the United States and New Zealand in the last century; yet nursing education in each country took different paths.

In the United States the establishment of schools of nursing within universities began in the first decade of the century. A landmark evaluation of nursing education in the 1920s (the Goldmark Report) emphasised the desirability of university preparation for nurses and higher level university education for nurse leaders.[1] Eventually academic enquiry in nursing proceeded to focus on the definition of the essential nature of nursing, to

222

specify the knowledge which nurses need to provide care in the many settings of the health field and to organise it for an effective curriculum. In the 1950s the theorising began about how nursing addresses the complexity of the human condition in health and illness. That nursing has a body of knowledge and skills distinct from medicine and other disciplines was clarified as nurses created models and frameworks to show how the phenomena of concern to nurses in their practice could be explained. When developed through research by nurse scholars within the universities, a science of human beings of particular relevance to nursing was initiated. Thus nursing as a new discipline began to emerge.

Through the past four decades, nurses internationally have followed with interest the development in the United States universities of the different models and frameworks which present a view of nursing. They have sparked continuing debate on the extent to which these perspectives of human being, health, nursing, and their context address the health and service issues of the day.

In contrast to this development in the United States, in New Zealand the attempts to institute university education for nurses were unsuccessful until the 1970s. Thus New Zealand nurses had to look overseas for the new insights that arise through scholarship, and it was in the United States that such scholarship was recognised.

New Zealand nurses first sought from the United States ideas on the development of an expanded role for nurses: in public health as well as the care of the sick in hospitals, on the nature of mental health nursing, and on the development of appropriate nursing education. Then, as Jocelyn Keith and Judith Christensen have noted nurses were sent to, or voluntarily visited and studied in, the United States. Although they were few in number, they returned to leadership positions. American nurses with significant standing in the nursing and academic worlds were invited to New Zealand for consultation. Voluminous publications (nursing texts and journals) brought to this country the discourse, debate and dialectic of nurse scholars.

However, the relationship between the countries has not been straightforward. Ideas brought to this country have been incorporated into the clinical practice of nursing with great selectivity, and not without suspicion of and resistance to an 'American influence'. The academic enphasis in the development of nursing in the United States has been regarded with caution by a large proportion of New Zealand practising nurses, and indifference by some. Yet it is just that emphasis that has intrigued other New Zealand nurses.

In its contribution to the development of scholarship in our own university programmes for nurses, there is new inspiration from the United States. An American nurse scholar recently identified a new stage in the evolution of nursing in the United States as 'The Stage of Scholarliness' and wrote, 'Scholarship in a discipline refers to the degree to which its mission is well-articulated and based on excellent research and theory'.[2] It is just this scholarship that I seek in order to make my contribution to nursing as a profession in this country through the development of the university programme. And in this, I merely fit into the pattern of the United States-New Zealand connection already seen emerging from our history, and to which the Fulbright programme has contributed.

I follow my colleagues of the past as I look for the opportunity to enter into debate on developing views of health and the nature of nursing which may be useful in addressing health concerns of this country. I have chosen to study under the guidance of a nurse theorist whom I consider to have expressed creativity and vision in the development and explication of her model of health to focus nursing; who has drawn upon wide ranging sources of knowledge and scholarly endeavour; who has demonstrated the rigour of research; and who has stimulated debate on the contribution her approach might make to the advancement of nursing.

In considering the pattern of the relationship between nursing education in the United States and New Zealand, and my place in that pattern, three themes have emerged which I think summarise the main characteristics of nursing in New Zealand which have shaped the impact of American thinking on its development as a profession.

The first is a sense of independence. Nursing in this country, as in the United States, has sought to make clear its significant and unique contribution to the delivery of the health service. The United States has taken the lead internationally in establishing nursing as an academic discipline which is distinct from medicine and other disciplines. The insights of American nurse scholars into the essential and unique nature of the nursing contribution to health care have drawn the interest of New Zealand nurses.

The second characteristic is the striving for a sense of identity. In line with the searching of New Zealanders for a national identity, and the women's movement, nurses in this country have worked to establish their own identity. While the American nurses have led in establishing nursing as a discipline in its own right, there has been a clear movement of nursing as a profession in New Zealand. Throughout our history, New Zealand nurses have been a part of the international community of nurses.

The professional body of nurses, under strong leadership has been mindful of and has encouraged the search for ideas from other countries, including the scholarship and debate of the United States. New Zealand nurses have always travelled widely, yet the professional group has been wary of the challenge posed to this identity when these new ideas have been introduced from overseas. There has been resistance to merely transplanting approaches of other countries.

The third is a seeking for understanding of the human condition which is the object of nursing. Nursing has evolved in each country, differing according to the cultures and contexts. New Zealand nurses, conscious of their isolation and small numbers, and until relatively recently, without the scholarship which is a feature of advanced university education, have sought to draw upon the ideas of American nurse scholars which might be of relevance in New Zealand.

I emerge from these reflections with a strong sense of identity as a New Zealand nurse, and I am excited by the opportunities before me to take part in the debate with my American nurse colleagues. As with my predecessors, my challenge on return to New Zealand will be in the sharing of ideas which are seen to have relevance for clinical nursing practice, the stimulation of debate and the sparking of imagination amongst New Zealand nurses. The impact of American thinking will be apparent in the extent to which these nurses advance nursing practice specifically attuned to the New Zealand health scene.

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19

DACUM: ITS INFLUENCE AND IMPACT ON VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Adrienne Burleigh

THE DACUM PROCESS AND NEW ZEALAND

DACUM (Developing a Curriculum)[1] was established through the work of the Job Corp in Iowa in 1965, and travelled to various centres in the United States and Canada, being modified and fine tuned on the way, not reaching New Zealand until the early 1980s. Few, other than Robert Adams (1975), wrote about it and there was no handbook of practice to initiate the process. Therefore, there needed to be a degree of enthusiasm from the would-be practitioner, and a willing suspension of disbelief from the client, when a proposal to use the process was put forward. In most instances it was a case of the blind leading the blind. As a product, versions of the DACUM[2] chart were produced. This pattern of development was the same whether in North America in the late 1960s to early 1970s, or in New Zealand more than a decade later.

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[1] DACUM is a focus group methodology which involves the incumbent worker identifying the tasks that comprise their job. It relies on consensus decision-making using a skilled neutral facilitator. DACUM relies on three premises:
(a) That those people currently doing the job are best able to define their jobs.
(b) That all jobs can be described in terms of the tasks that make them up.
(c) All tasks are underpinned by skill, knowledge, and attitude.

[2] A DACUM chart is a simple matrix displaying the duties and tasks associated with a job in a logical order.

As the process developed it was picked up and put down for a variety of reasons by a number of institutions and those championing it. Sometimes the resources of money and/or people ran out; sometimes it was a withdrawal of political will. This stop/start effect in the different Canadian provinces, and across the United States border to Ohio, resulted in at least two different approaches and sets of belief about what should be included in any resultant DACUM chart. The Canadian approach tended to include a great deal more detail than the American, while those following the model from the National Centre for Research in Vocational Education (NCRVE, Ohio State University) concentrated on clearly defined tasks that later could be further refined and reviewed. The early practitioners in New Zealand used a very impure mixture of these two initial approaches, plus the various hybrids that had developed, adding a number of their own variations on the way.

APPRENTICESHIP REFORM AND TRAINING NEEDS ANALYSIS

At the beginning of this decade the New Zealand Government addressed the question of apprenticeship reform, publishing a White Paper, *Apprenticeship for Tomorrow*, in 1982. This country had followed the traditional European model of time-served indenture, with those reaching journeyperson status having qualified either by examination or through completing the prescribed number of years of training. Even with examinations, the appellation of 'tradesperson' could not be applied until the agreed time had been served, a practice that did not allow competent tradespeople to qualify in the least amount of time.

To provide a common basis for apprenticeship reform, there needed to be a systematic analysis of the tasks of each trade. The White Paper spelt it out:

> ... it is necessary to identify and analyse each individual element of a tradesperson's job and to verify the analysis by seeking comment and advice from a wide range of people actually working in and familiar with the trade concerned.

The analysis of training needs should be regularly updated, common skills identified and the more fundamental separated from the less central.

This approach demanded that whichever method was used to analyse the tasks it had to provide information that could be compared with data gained from other analyses. The simplest approach was to settle on one method. After due consideration and trial, DACUM was selected by the Vocational Training Council as it was seen as able to meet the requirements for speed, accuracy, comparability and ease of regular review. Its selection as a preferred method did not preclude the use of other methods but as the exercise went on it was clear that DACUM gave the required results in the time-frame available, across the wide range of apprenticeships. The Minister of Employment stated that any other method of training needs analysis could be used but that the results produced should be comparable with those produced through the DACUM process. However, because of the expertise developed by the Training Needs Analysis Unit of the Vocational Training Council most of the Apprenticeship Committees seeking to have a training needs analysis done, sought the assistance of the Training Needs Analysis Unit to accomplish this.

But DACUM, as it was practised in North America, did not provide a sufficiently detailed enough validation of the results of the DACUM chart for it to be acceptable nationally in New Zealand. The Vocational Training Council also set about developing an acceptable process for this.

With a number of practitioners using home-grown versions of DACUM entering the field there was also a real danger of the reinvention of an increasing number of square wheels. This was the case not only in New Zealand but internationally. A few journal articles had surfaced and with commendable enthusiasm many people had recognised the power of the process and set out to use it. Dr Robert Norton (NCRVE) and Dr Lawrence Coffin (Holland College, Prince Edward Island, Canada), with their colleagues, were using the process extensively. It was apparent that a handbook of practice was required and training sessions needed to be made available. Both eventuated, with a major part of the work falling to Dr Norton and his team. The *DACUM Handbook* (1985) and the course run through the DACUM Institute were both available internationally in 1985.

Through a Hayes-Fulbright Vocational Award the opportunity arose for the author to gather at firsthand, state-of-the-art information on the application of the DACUM process throughout North America. Centres of development and centres of excellence in the use of DACUM were visited over a three month period. The DACUM trail (Burleigh, 1986) proved an interesting one to follow. The history of development and application slowly unravelled and the possibilities for the further enhancement of an increasingly flexible and multi-faceted process were revealed. But the information flow was not all one-way. The need for validation of material developed for national use and the post-DACUM period of each analysis in New Zealand aroused a tremendous amount of interest. Most of the charts developed in the United States had been developed for local industry and provided the base for curriculum development and delivery by a local provider, usually the equivalent of a polytechnic in New Zealand. It is worth noting that the initial course run by the DACUM Institute of the National Centre for Research in Vocational Education (The Ohio State University) is now followed by a second course called 'Beyond DACUM' at which the issues of industry validation are addressed.

ADDING VALUE

In the 1984-85 projects undertaken by the Vocational Training Council, and latterly by the Training Needs Analysis Unit, the tasks and skills intrinsic to each job were analysed. In recording all these there was a marked similarity to the basic Canadian approach but 1986 saw a change, with the far more controlled American model of job analysis being adopted. Each of these models had their merits and disadvantages. Time came to add value. By taking the American style as stage one, and calling this Job Analysis, the crisp, discrete, measurable and achievable elements of each occupation could be identified using a panel of expert incumbent workers.

The well tried and respected New Zealand validation process became the next part of the exercise. The information gathered in a DACUM conference is turned into a validation document and distributed nationally to incumbent workers in the occupation under analysis. These people of worth and experience, along with some of their supervisors and senior staff are asked to comment on tasks identified, determine the frequency with which they occur in the occupation, assess the importance or criticality of the task and suggest whether the training for that task would best be carried out on the job, during off-job training or as a mixture of both. The results of this data gathering exercise are owned by the client; the New Zealand Apprenticeship Committee in the case of a trade, or the steering committee for the client organisation where no trade is involved.

The Steering Committee is an important added-value component of the New Zealand approach. Before the Training Needs Analysis Unit will take on an exercise this important committee must be formed and in all projects involving the expenditure of government money it includes representatives of government, the employer and the employees. Where no direct funding from government is involved the representation comes from the employer and the unions. It may, at a later stage of its existence, invite one or more training providers as an expert member, but with speaking rights only. This ensures that industry determines what its job is about and is able to inform the training provider of its needs and eliminates what is in the view of former trainees, the halo effect of tutors. It is then up to the provider to meet those needs without interference in that process from the industry. While this is an ideal aspired to elsewhere, it is often not achieved, the result being that providers determine industry's needs – a classic about-face situation.

Some clients prefer to exit from the process at this point, using the results as the basis for job descriptions, staff recruitment, performance appraisals and training programmes. Some use the validated data to develop check lists that provide a record of the training that a staff member has received throughout a given period.

At this point the elements of the Canadian approach are picked up in the Task Analysis stage. This is a conferencing situation and involves experts from the job analysis phase, and adds to them key training providers, especially where off-job training is required by the industry or organisation. This exercise uses the validated list of tasks from the DACUM Job Analysis and further breaks these down. For each task various elements are identified:

1. Steps taken to complete the task.
2. Tools and equipment required.
3. The stage in training by which competence would be expected.
4. Standards of performance.
5. The source of these standards.

6 Knowledge to support the task.
7 Safety and other attitudinal factors.

In this stage the input of the training provider is essential, and there can be discussion with industry on the depth of the off-job training needed, the amount that can be accomplished by industry on the job and where there needs to be commitment to sequencing by industry and provider to maximise the training opportunities. It also provides the opportunity for commitment by industry to the provision of equipment for use in off-job training and commitment of providers to technical refresher leave for its staff.

The task analysis phase of an exercise leads easily into the development of a number of products and services. Besides providing an even more detailed tool for recruitment and performance appraisals, it provides information that allows the development of:

1. Training manuals for instructors (on- and off-job), supervisors (on-job) and trainees.
2. Training record books.
3. Structured training programmes both for on- and off-job.
4. Distance learning modules.

THE IMPACT OF DACUM

There are 38 National Apprenticeship Committees in New Zealand charged with the oversight of all formal apprenticeships. Under the auspices of each committee there can be as many as a dozen different branches of a trade, each focusing on a separate aspect of the craft. Some branches have very few indentured apprentices while in others there are substantial numbers of apprentices, with women still making up only a small proportion of those apprentices (except in the trade of Ladies Hairdressing). Each trade is increasingly taking notice of changes in technology in its own and related trades and the shifts in emphasis among the different skill components as these affect its focus and ability to deliver in an increasingly technological world.

Relatively few jobs are in the apprenticeable trades. The majority are scattered in the other sectors of the employment spectrum. There are the operators with the very specific skills needed to perform their job; the technicians with a lesser range of physical skills than the tradesperson, but a greater requirement for decision-making from a base of technical knowledge; and the professional whose skills are demonstrated in the manipulation of information flowing from multiple sources. The tradesperson has many tasks, each supported by skills, knowledge and attitudes, to accomplish within the parameters of the job. Regardless of the level of physical or mental skill required, it does not matter whether the position falls in the service sector, in agriculture, professional, technical or trades groups. The tasks of the job can be expressed in all cases as a decision, a process or a product, with each occupying a discrete time period. Each task that is accomplished can be done to preset standards and under preset conditions.

It is with this basic philosophy that DACUM has come to be applied to a wide range of occupations in New Zealand. Initially there was considerable criticism of the process as it was viewed as being suitable only for identification of the tasks of a tradesperson. This came about through the intensive application of the process in the field of apprenticeship reform. Indeed, 80 percent of the completed projects undertaken by the unit have been in the trades field, driven by the carrots-and-sticks of apprenticeship reform. The other 20 percent (the majority of the projects currently in progress) are outside of the trade area and range from operative to management and professional levels. In fact the turning point has been reached with the majority of analyses being undertaken by the Training Needs Analysis Unit being outside of apprenticeship.

The Vocational Training Council's Training Needs Analysis Unit is nationally and internationally unique for it is the only unit working on training needs analysis fulltime and completing on a national basis both job and task analyses. Over the past four and a half years it has completed one hundred and nineteen projects and is currently involved in a further ten.

WHAT COMES NEXT?

There is a growing demand for assessed competence in the affective, psychomotor and cognitive domains. The data that is essential for this is contained in a validated job and task analysis. This is a path that is demanding exploration and one that is of interest on a world-wide basis with the application internationally of modern technology in all occupations.

The days of the individual being recruited and trained for a job for life are over. There is the universal requirement for multiskilling of the workforce with individuals looking forward to a number of quite major changes in employment within their working and leisure lifetimes. Across similar groups of industries the core of basic skills can be identified, the levels of competence set and multiskill training instituted either at entry or at occupational change. Where there are assessment procedures in place the concepts of pretesting for competence are eminently achievable leading to more efficient training, with the wastage from overtraining being avoided.

New Zealand has benefited from DACUM. It has been the basis for the development of comprehensive training manuals and record books, especially for on-the-job-training, it has given many industries and organisations accurate validated job and task analyses acceptable to unions and employers and provided those delivering courses with the outlines acceptable to the employing industry. The quality of the validated product is such that the analyses stand with the best developed outside of New Zealand and are internationally acceptable in this age of global technology. Much of this development has been achieved or enhanced through contacts made during the Fulbright visit to the United States and renewed and expanded in subsequent visits. There has been a great deal of international co-operation in these developments and benefits achieved not only diagonally across the Pacific but internationally as well. New Zealand is now accepted as being a centre of excellence in this methodology.

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20

THE CASE OF LAW

K J Keith

I have had a great deal of help in the preparation of these comments from colleagues in the legal profession who have provided me with much relevant information and opinion. Accordingly, in many ways this is not my paper. Rather it is a report compiled by a large number of New Zealand lawyers who have been affected by United States legal ideas mainly by studying there, and who have also been involved in the teaching of lawyers. One thing that has become clear from the process in which I have engaged is that there is a great deal more to be done to investigate this matter. For one thing the American influence has to be put more expressly than I have against the United Kingdom and other Commonwealth influences. The influence in the legal educational area has to be seen in the context of influences in the law as a whole. And that in turn has to be related to wider changes in our community and in its place in the world, especially over the period on which I am primarily focusing.

As I see it, my task is to look at the interaction of (1) people, (2) materials, especially library resources, (3) teaching methods, (4) the purposes and content of legal teaching and research, and (5) the broader ideas affecting those various matters.

My main emphasis will be on the last 40 years but it is, I think, interesting to take a few fragments from earlier years to indicate changing influences and the wider context.

At the beginning of constitutional government in New Zealand in 1840 we had, along with the existing situation that the colonists found here, a very important common law inheritance. The law of England so far as it was applicable to the circumstances of New Zealand came with the first ships (e.g., English Laws Act 1858). That was true as well of the North American colonies and, to think of the Bicentennial celebrations going on at present across the Tasman, of the early actions in Sydney Cove just 200 years ago of Captain David Collins, the first Judge Advocate, and his colleagues in the first courts there (see Sharwood, Justice at Sydney Cove 1788, a paper delivered to the Bicentennial Australian Legal Convention, Canberra, August 1988). Those responsible for legal processes in the new colonies brought with them the principles of the common law, as they had been formulated over earlier centuries, especially in the writings of Blackstone and Coke. Among those principles were those about the rights of indigenous peoples.

Perhaps I can document that last point and also indicate very early American influence in our legal system by mentioning a judgement of the Supreme Court of 1847 (*Queen v Symonds* (1847) NZPCC 387). The court consisted of the two Supreme Court judges of that time, Chief Justice Martin and Mr Justice H S Chapman. In their judgments they referred to Blackstone's Commentary and Coke on Littleton. But they referred as well and without any apparent sense of strain to the *Commentary* of Chancellor Kent of New York, an established American text, and to a judgment of the United States Supreme Court delivered by the great judge, Chief Justice John Marshall. H S Chapman J referred to a particular practice as having been long adopted 'by the government in our American colonies, and by that of the United States'. He went on to mention the Charters of the New England puritans and of Pennsylvania. And, as an international lawyer, I might note that he also made use of a leading Swiss international lawyer of the 18th century, Vattel. (For another major decision, later in the century, in which US authority was prominent see *In re Aldridge* (1893) 15 NZLR 361. American cases are mentioned in at least three other cases in that volume – e.g., pp 136 (tax), 585 and 588 (public place), and 682, 683 and 692 (jury) – having been used by experienced counsel, Sir Robert Stout, Sim (later a Judge) and W D Stewart (a Minister of the Crown).)

Somewhat similarly in 1863 Henry Sewell, who as well as being the first premier of New Zealand had served as Attorney-General, in writing to Lord Lyttleton about the New Zealand native rebellion referred, again without any sense that it was other than perfectly normal, to a judgment of Chief Justice Marshall (a very lengthy quote), to negotiations between the United States and Great Britain after the 1814 war, to 'American jurists' in general, to the practice of the Emperor of France in respect of his Arab subjects in Algeria, and yet again to Vattel (*The New Zealand Native Rebellion, Letter to Lord Lyttleton* (1864)). Well over a century later, New Zealand lawyers are learning again of the value of American material in assessing and contributing to the development of the law relating to the Treaty of Waitangi.

Later in the century as well, quite extensive reference is to be found in such New Zealand legal writing as there is to United States material. An Otago colleague has recalled that the *New Zealand Jurist*, a combination of Law Reports and Law Reviews published in the 1870s, includes a number of extracts from American sources. Thus an American criticism of the law of common employment is published along with other proposals for the change of 'judicially invented' law which is seen as 'manifestly illogical' and causing 'enormous wrong' to the working classes, (1876) 2 *NZ Jurist* (NS) 155-156, 173-174 and see *McBride v Brogden* (1876) 2 *NZ Jurist* (NS) CA 14. We see here something of the movement of sailing ships, miners, books, and ideas around the Pacific rim. A rough count of references to American cases in the index to the Law Reports late this century and early this century also suggests a higher use of American judgments at that time than was to be found for most of this century.

Around the turn of the century there are two great names, both New Zealanders born in the United Kingdom, who should be mentioned. Both were professors of law at my University. It is clear from Sir John Salmond's writing, beginning in Temuka late last century, that Oliver Wendell Holmes, the great American jurist and judge, had a very large influence on him. In the words of Alex Frame, a colleague who is the expert on Salmond, Holmes' *Common Law* published in 1882 appears to have relieved the narrow Austinian positivism which so dominated British legal education of the period. This influence was not entirely one way. Salmond has made enormous contributions to the legal culture of the whole of the common law world through two great books, the one on torts and the other on jurisprudence. He also produced an excellent third book on the law of contracts which has not unfortunately had the same influence notwithstanding an outstanding second edition by another of Victoria's professors. The American recognition of his role appeared in his winning of the Ames medal awarded by Harvard University in 1910 for his book on torts. Salmond thought that award his greatest honour. His importance is also to be seen, again to take one of Alex Frame's points, that when a leading American legal realist of the 1920s and 1930s wanted someone to attack he chose 'even so enlightened a thinker as Salmond' as his target (Jerome Frank *Law and the Modern Mind* (1930) 119).

Salmond's influence on another aspect of American legal thinking relates to one of the important analytical tools that lawyers use. Hohfeld, a member of the Yale Law School Faculty in the early part of the century wrote a celebrated article about a scheme of the basic legal relationships – rights and duties, privileges and liabilities, and so on. In essence, one commentator has said, Hohfeld's analysis is Salmond's analysis, Dickey 'Hohfeld's Debt to Salmond' (1971) 10 *UWAL Rev* 59, 62. Alex Frame agrees.

The second person to whom I refer does not fit into the overall theme of the influence of American ideas on New Zealand education but he does make very well the point of the international movement of abilities and ideas in education. He is Richard Cockburn Maclaurin. He was an astonishingly talented man, who took his principal degrees in New Zealand then at Cambridge late last century in mathematics. While at Cambridge he also studied law and won the Yorke prize for his essay on the nature and evidence of title to realty. He managed to spend some time pursuing philosophy at Strasbourg. Having for a time been the founding Professor Mathematics, he became Professor Law and Dean of the Law School and took on the extra honorary title of Professor of Astronomy, while continuing to teach advanced mathematics. (See Beaglehole, *Victoria University College* (1949) 39-43, 99-102). As with Salmond, we could not expect that such an amazing talent would stay long at Victoria. He moved first to Columbia University as a Professor Physics (at the urging of Lord Kelvin) and then very quickly became the preeminent president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. It is the received wisdom (or perhaps mythology) in New Zealand that he made the MIT what it is today.

The general impression is that after the turn of the century, the American influence on legal thinking and writing here waned. It is difficult to be precise about the reasons for such a change. Part turns on individuals. Thus Sir Robert Stout, Premier and Chief Justice late last century and early this, who had extensive American holdings in his very large library, often referred to American material in his judgments and other writings, including his remarkable tribute to Maclaurin (*A Life to Inspire*, 1920). That interest had a major impact on the Victoria library and possibly on Otago's too. But no doubt there are broader political and social reasons that had us in the course of the 1920s and 1930s looking rather more narrowly than we previously had for sources of ideas, at least in the legal and constitutional areas. (The papers by David Hamer and Erik Olssen in Malcolm McKinnon (Ed.), *The American Connection* (1988) 12,25, document parallel changes in other areas). The period since the 1940s provides major changes in legal influences – changes which of course parallel wider changes in our world position.

Let me consider the last 40 or so years under a number of headings which I mentioned earlier.

1 The people.

2 The relevant materials, especially library and teaching materials.

3 Teaching methods.

4 The purposes and content of legal education and research.

5 Methods and styles of legal reasoning.

I have to be selective. I have not mentioned clinical and practical training (narrowly defined) of lawyers nor some of the recent criticisms of the United States tradition (e.g., Bok, 'A Flawed System of Law Practice and Training' (1983) 33 *JLE*, 570).

PEOPLE

The largest group in size, and perhaps increasingly the most important qualitatively, is the group of New Zealanders who went to the United States as graduate students. My researches and those of my colleagues have identified about 80 New Zealanders who have undertaken graduate work at United States Law Schools. Many were Fulbright students.

About half of them are now or have been in private practice, a number of them overseas. About 30 are or have been university teachers, again including a significant number overseas. And the balance are, or were, involved in public service of one kind or another, including politics and the judiciary. Important among these groups are those individuals who have played several parts. Thus some have been in private practice, have done government advisory work, have taught, have written, and have served as judges. They are increasingly coming into positions of major importance in the law. Thus one of them is a Court of Appeal Judge, two serve on the High Court, one is the Deputy Prime Minister, another a Deputy Secretary for Justice, many are senior partners in major law firms, especially in Auckland, and others are senior members of the bar. Of those engaged in teaching, a number hold very senior positions here and elsewhere. Thus one, Canada's leading academic constitutional lawyer, is a University Professor at Osgoode Hall Law School, perhaps the leading law school in the Commonwealth, another is a Distinguished Professor of Law at Rutgers University in New Jersey and a member of a United Nations Commission on crime control, and another the Dean of the Ottawa Law School; the last two Deans at Otago and the last four at Victoria have all had American graduate experience.

It must be the case that the American experience of this able, educated group will influence their work in an enormous variety of ways – many of which cannot be precisely documented.

There are two other significant groups of people – more significant for their impact rather than in number. First are visiting American lawyers, especially, but not solely, academics. One or two from the 1950s have plainly had a very large influence on the careers of individual New Zealanders and therefore indirectly on the development of legal theory and legal education here. Allison Dunham, a professor of law at the University of

Chicago, was here in the early 1950s, helped persuade at least one student to take his graduate work at Michigan (with major consequences) and gave immediate practical demonstrations of the use of the socratic teaching method, a matter to which I will return (see (1953) 29 *NZLJ* 265 on the importance of lawyers studying arts at University and (1954) 30 *NZLJ* 56 on American and New Zealand legal education). Dean Griswold, the great legal educator from the Harvard Law School, has visited often and, at least in part as a consequence, a number of New Zealanders have studied at his school (see (1951) 27 *NZLJ* 344 for an interview with him). Professor Walter Gellhorn of Columbia has made two visits, the first in the course of a worldwide inquiry into the Office of Ombudsmen just when that office was becoming established here and more recently (while in his ninth decade) to study the Accident Compensation Scheme (*Ombudsmen and Others* (1966); 'Medical Malpractice Litigation (US) – Medical Mishap Compensation' (1988) 73 *Cornell L Rev* 170). There have been a number of other Americans who have come to look at that particular development in our social welfare arrangements. That is a case, of course, of influence going towards the United States but such visits also challenge us to see whether such developments are in fact operating successfully.

Some of these visits have also been important in terms of the development of particular areas of scholarship – such as criminology, aspects of commercial law, public law matters including bills of rights, and perhaps the role of lawyers in relation to nuclear weaponry (on commercial law see, e.g., Byron Sher (a Fulbrighter), 'Contracts and Commercial Law: Teaching and Research in New Zealand' (1965) *NZLJ* 222, 248 and Riesenfeld, *The Quagmire of Chattels Security in New Zealand* (1970)). In earlier years the influence came as well in one or two cases from very able senior American students (e.g., F Davis (1956) 32 *NZLJ* 350). And later of course the influence has spread through the recruitment of Americans and Canadians in significant numbers to law faculty staffs.

The final group of great influence is the small number of New Zealand teachers who around 1950 studied in and visited America and were much influenced by developments there. Kingston Braybrooke from Victoria was a student at Columbia in the late 1940s. Robert Orr McGechan, professor of Jurisprudence and Constitutional Law at Victoria and Dean at the time of his tragic death in 1954, was the first senior Fulbrighter in the law teaching profession. Later there were Jack Northey at Auckland (who had earlier studied at Toronto where the American influence was strong) and still later others of us who were influenced as students or as teachers.

A reading of the list of people suggests a number of other points. One to which I have adverted briefly is the brain drain. We have lost some of our very best and brightest. We can take comfort in the thought that they are making major contributions to their new countries. They can also, I well know, be very helpful in explaining New Zealand to their new compatriots.

A second matter is the time that some influences require to take effect. Only a handful of the 80 students were in the United States before 1960. Given the way in which our institutions work, some of the influences are only now starting to appear.

A third feature of the lists is on the geographic distribution of the students. As is to be expected given the size of their law schools and given Victoria's position in the capital city, Auckland and Victoria have provided the bulk of the graduate students. The Canterbury involvement, by contrast with Otago's is very small. I make no comment.

A final matter arising from the lists is the influence of non-lawyers – of political scientists such as Lipson and Kelson, of economists such as Monroe Berkowitz, and of historians such as Bernard Gordon.

UNITED STATES MATERIALS ESPECIALLY LIBRARY MATERIALS

As I have already indicated, there were lawyers in New Zealand who from the earliest days had access to and used American legal material. In some of the university libraries the holdings of American textbooks and periodicals have been long established.

It is only, however, in the last twenty or so years that library holdings of American materials have really been developed. Thus the establishment of the various University Law Reviews, including the *New Zealand Universities Law Review* 25 years ago, provided a basis for exchanges with American law schools. And, importantly, a series of substantial grants from the American Council of Learned Societies in the 1960s provided the basis for the build up of extensive holdings of American Law Reports. There has also been a substantial build up, in the Victoria library for instance, of holdings of major textbooks including the multi-volumed works and the volumes of the American Law Institute. To some extent these developments, to pick up a comment made by the Otago Law Librarian, have been promoted by the availability of the *Index to Legal Periodicals* which calls attention in an unremitting way to a vast range of valuable American material.

Statutory material has also grown recently. That is a more difficult and expensive matter, involving considerable selection. Victoria, for instance, has comprehensive holdings only of federal, New York and Californian statutes.

Another, final important category of material, especially for teaching, is the burgeoning supply of American case books, a development relevant to my next heading.

This very substantial increase of American material has had major significance for a number of matters. Among them are:

1 The methods of teaching.

2 The addition or further development of areas of interest, for example in commercial law, international law, environmental law, public law, native rights, family law, and differing approaches to legal scholarship and analysis, such as the varying schools of jurisprudence including recently feminist jurisprudence, critical legal studies, and the law and economics movement.

3 The sharpening of the understanding of the law, by way of comparison with more traditional views of the law.

4 Historical value – some of the core thinking in the basic subjects is best captured in the big books and in the seminal articles in major law reviews.

5 Quite different attitudes to the role of law. In the words of one of my former university colleagues, the American lawyers, or at least the most interesting and best of them, see the ideas with which we are concerned as a springboard for development and not as an impediment to action.

TEACHING METHODS

In 1870, on a day famous for law teachers, Christopher Columbus Langdell began his first class in the law of contracts at Harvard Law School with this sentence: 'Mr Fox will you state the facts in *Payne v Cave*?' Thus the case method or socratic method of teaching law was launched. It has been much written about (e.g., Sutherland, *The Law at Harvard* (1967) Ch VI and Stevens, *Law School – Legal Education in America from the 1850s to the 1980s* (1983) Ch 4). It has been put into its wider educational context. I do not wish to add to that today. I should move rather quickly to the New Zealand scene or to that part of it that I know best. But before doing that, to reinforce the earlier point about wide perceptions of a shared legal and cultural inheritance, it is perhaps worth noting that of the 336 cases included in Langdell's first case book on the law of contracts, only 22 were American – mostly from Massachusetts and New York. Virtually all of the rest were English, and many of those had been decided before 1700 (Farnsworth, 'Contracts Scholarship in the Age of Anthology' (1987) 85 *Mich L Rev* 1406, 1409).

In New Zealand – or at least at Victoria – the case method can be traced back for 50 years. It is discussed in the most interesting way by Professor McGechan in the very first article in the inaugural issue of the *Victoria University College Law Review* published in October 1953 ('The Case Method of Teaching Law' (1953) Vol. 1, no. 1, *VUCLR* 9). That review itself is an interesting aspect of legal education to which I will return. McGechan justifies the case method elegantly and neatly. I attach extracts from that valuable account (see Appendix A).

In the course of that account he calls attention to the fact that the four members of the fulltime faculty at that stage had all had American experience. I have already mentioned that he was the first academic lawyer to be a senior scholar under the Fulbright programme. I have also mentioned Kingston Braybrooke who was, I think, probably the second New Zealand graduate student in an American Law School (see (1949) 25 *NZLJ* 309, 319). George Barton had been a member of the United Nations Secretariat in New York and Ian Campbell had visited the United States by that time. Professor McGechan also notes that Professor Dunham, from the University of Chicago, was at that time at Victoria helping with the development of this method. But, McGechan was quick to emphasise, it was basically a healthy indigenous development. He stressed that learning by the case method is for the students a positive, active process of working, researching and thinking under guidance from their teachers, of finding the law for themselves from the sources. By contrast the lecture method views the students as receptive with the negative function of understanding what was being given on the authority of the teacher or the textbook. It had advantages both in the training of lawyers and as a form of university education. The student he stressed learns by doing. See also McGechan's report on his sabbatical leave taken mainly in America ((1951) 27 *NZLJ* 361, and 'A New Zealander's Comments on American Legal Education' (1953) 5 *JLE* 286).

I think that I may say, without sounding too parochial, that this development occurred much earlier in Wellington than in the other law schools. There was the occasional attempt at Auckland when I was a student in the late 1950s, but it essentially was a completely new experience, and at first a frightening one, when I arrived from Auckland as a senior student in 1960 and was immediately faced by the most vigorous questioning from Don Inglis in his conflict of laws class. I think that Judge Inglis's book on conflicts, a most interesting combination of provocative essays, written only as he can write, and edited cases is the first New Zealand published case book (*Conflict of Laws* (1959)). His teaching method related very much, as he generously acknowledges, to his time as a student at the University of Chicago in the late 1950s. But he too refers back to his earlier Victoria experience. He says, 'I still remember the impact of the socratic method as it was delivered by McGechan. For me personally it was the single most important fact in kindling a real interest in law, mainly, I think, because for the first time it presented us with a challenge to think in legal terms.'

Method should not of course be considered apart from purpose. The purpose has already partly been indicated in some of McGechan's and Inglis's comments. I will say a little about that under my next heading. I should first though mention other developments in teaching methods and the spread of the socratic and similar methods in New Zealand. By the early and mid 60s other university law schools were moving in limited ways towards socratic teaching. I have had very vivid accounts of the influence of part-time teachers in this context, returning from the best American law schools and enthusing their students at Dunedin and Auckland. Parallel to that development was the preparation of teaching materials. Some of those go back a very long time. I inherited very fragile stencils prepared by Professor McGechan in the mid 1940s on aspects of the law of war. Jack Northey had multilithed case books in use in administrative law in the early 1960s and he had been preceded in Wellington by Colin Aikman who had built up his materials from those prepared by McGechan for constitutional law.

There are two other matters relating to teaching method about which I shall be brief. The first is the development of the Law Review. As the foreword to the first issue of the *Victoria Law Review* shows, it was an educational exercise. The aim was to develop the capacity of students to expound the law clearly in print. The method employed was to use senior and junior student editors. The senior editors were the best students in the final year and the junior editors the best in their second to last year. The process was for the work of the junior editor to be criticised as to substance and exposition by a senior editor and then rewritten a number of times. It is interesting to look at the early lists. They include two High Court Judges, one District Court Judge, and an Ambassador, along with a number of other very senior practitioners ((1953, Vol 1, No. 1 *VUCLR* 3,5).

The other three law schools also of course later established reviews, with the Auckland one being the truest to a student educational base.

The other development is the growth of mooting, including, over a large number of years now, a national competition and more recently participation by the best New Zealand teams in the Jessup moot competition organised each year by the American Society of International Law and involving a large number of international competitors. Mooting is of course very much part of the common law tradition. The development here can to some extent be attributed to American influence – for instance by way of ideas which Julius Stone brought from Harvard to Auckland (e.g., (1944) 20 *NZLJ* 266).

THE PURPOSES AND CONTENT OF LEGAL EDUCATION AND RESEARCH

Some changes in law courses have obviously been influenced by United States developments. Consider for example the growth in courses relating to civil liberties, environmental law, and commercial law, and public law more generally and as well, to touch on a point mentioned when I was discussing library resources, different approaches to law – the realists of the 1920s and 1930s, and the more recent legal method, law and economics (the subject of a seminar at Victoria and Otago this year), and critical legal studies approaches.

The changes in the content of courses have related very much to changes in the content of the law. One that has been mentioned by two of my correspondents is the development of family law and in particular the establishment of the Family Court, very much an idea that was being expressed and manifested at relevant times in the United States. There were changes as well in the structure of the law course with the opening up of options, the introduction of honours, the greater emphasis on legal writing (although that was something which perhaps had had greater emphasis in New Zealand over the years than in law schools elsewhere) and related greater opportunities for specialisation. All those matters of content and structure can be related to United States influences and are interesting, but in a way they are mundane.

The more important questions, it seems to me, are those of overall purposes. Why are we even engaged in a university context in teaching law? What does the enterprise really involve? Those are huge questions. I can very briefly address them in the present context, first, by attaching the statements included in recent Victoria and Otago handbooks (Appendices A and B), indicating the qualities that we are looking for, and, secondly, by giving an account of the development of an important part of the Victoria degree about 25 years ago when the American influence, for me at least, was palpable.

The attached statements place major emphasis on process, on the ways in which law works, on the ways in which lawyers go about their business. They relate closely to a dominant legal method tradition encapsulated in the Hart-Sacks Harvard course and materials of the 1960s and to the case method. They reflect the undoubted truth that most, if not all, of the rules that we might put in front of our students at any particular time will long since have disappeared or been altered out of recognition as those lawyers move through their careers. They must have a good grasp of principle. They must have a good overall view of the law. But they need not carry around in their heads massive amounts of ever changing detail. The important things are the cast of mind, the methods, the searching after the right questions. I have in the past occasionally concluded my last classes with senior students with Gertrude Stein's famous and instructive last words.

As I began teaching in 1962 the law course had been substantially changed for the first time in many years. A new course in Legal System had been introduced as an introductory subject in place of Roman law. What should we do in this course? How could we best challenge the able young people who now were coming into our courses on a fulltime basis as the universities were becoming better funded and better resourced following the changes to the university structure and the preparation of the Hughes Parry report?

My then Dean, Colin Aikman, returned from a sabbatical leave, inevitably in the United States, greatly enthused and with an outstanding legal process book prepared by a number of members of the University of Minnesota and University of Wisconsin Law Schools, Carl A Auerback, Willard Hurst, Lloyd Garrison and Samuel Mermin, *The Legal Process: An Introduction to Decision-Making by Judicial, Legislative, Executive and Administrative Agencies* (1961). It was very much a book that was concerned with how the law developed. It took as its particular subject matter the law of industrial accidents. It showed how the common law judges from early in the 19th century had developed law, for the most part in a way that looked to the interests of the burgeoning industrial state and gave very little concern to the interests of the workers who were maimed or their families in the event that they were killed. It was possible to examine closely, in the context of the historical development of industry, the law as it was developed by the minds of some great and less than great judges around the common law world. There was some splendid writing, for example, by Chief Justice Shaw of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. There was also some abysmal writing, for instance, by Lord Abinger in the English courts.

Legislatures then intervened in a variety of ways to protect workers, for instance around the turn of the century with the introduction of worker's compensation statutes. They were not persuaded that the common law courts had got it right. The legislation meant that we were able to see something of the political and parliamentary process and then to move on to examine closely how courts interpret legislation. We also saw the way in which legislation could be implemented not by courts but by specialised tribunals and commissions. That is to say, the material raised very important questions about the way in which rights and duties are organised and public power is exercised.

We could always be faced with the question, as we were indeed from time to time, why are we discussing this old law, for instance this principle of common employment, particularly when students discovered that Parliament had abolished the doctrine many years before (Workers' Compensation Act 1908, s62, and Law Reform Act 1936, s18). The same questions had of course at various times been asked rather more firmly about the teaching of Roman law. They are interesting questions but they are beside the point. What this rich material, in the American book as adapted in various ways for New Zealand purposes, so well presented was an enduring set of questions. There was also the nice coincidence that as we got those cases, statutes and related information into our teaching materials the matter of compensation for injury caused by accident did in fact come on to the live political agenda in New Zealand with the establishment first of the committee on absolute liability for motor vehicle accidents and later of the Woodhouse Royal Commission. There was a very interesting interaction, as a consequence, between the political process and the academy, a contact which has continued in a variety of ways. The most abstruse learning, as it may appear in a substantive sense, may in fact become of immediate practical importance. But, as I say, that is not the main reason for using this material. The main reason is, to repeat, to present the enduring questions of legal method and legal process and to see how those questions are worked out in real social and political contexts.

LEGAL REASONING – METHODS AND STYLES

This final heading is large and frightening. What can I say about the influence of American ideas on the way in which New Zealand lawyers and in particular those engaged in legal education think? What can I say about the way in which they reason and the way in which they put together their legal writing? There are some rather formal ways of looking at this. Where have New Zealanders published, what American sources do they draw on as a support for their argument, and in which areas do they write? (For some suggestive material, see the essays in Elkind (Ed.), *The Impact of American Law on English and Commonwealth Law* (1978) and for a specific example of current relevance see Palmer, 'Defamation and Privacy Down Under' (1979) 64 *Iowa L Rev* 1209). Some of this evidence does demonstrate substantial changes as a consequence of American influences, whether by way of study there, visits, or merely reading the much more widely available American material.

But I should be looking to broader changes than that. I should do that against a broader background than just legal education. One part of the background is the very large change in New Zealand's place in the world. Over the past 50 years we have appreciated more clearly the imperatives of geography. We are part of the Pacific world. (See also C E Beeby on the Carnegie Foundation in McKinnon (Ed.) *The American Connection*, 38). In part that realisation is a return to a perception of a century ago when miners, seamen, unionists, architecture, trees, books, ideas and even laws travelled around the rim of that great ocean. The simple trading world of just 40 years ago in which most of our primary produce was sent directly to Britain under bulk purchase agreements has been replaced by one in which our trade is more or less equally divided between the United States, Japan, Australia, Europe (principally the United Kingdom), and others. That change must of course have consequences for our business law, especially as Britain, too, recognises the legal consequences of its return to Europe. Parallel to (perhaps arising from) those and related changes are great changes in the understanding and operation of the law and legal processes. Let me just mention some great judges – but I would not want by that mention to underestimate the importance, probably greater, of the lawyer in the legislative process; in New Zealand consider from the 1960s the roles of Mr Hanan, the Minister of Justice, and his officials, Dr Robson and Mr Cameron, in the enactment of the Crimes Act, the Ombudsmen legislation, the Criminal Injury Compensation scheme, the Indecent Publications Act, and major changes in our divorce, matrimonial property and guardianship law.

In my professional life attitudes to the judicial role have undergone enormous change. Around the mid 1950s, the legal scene in England and here was very static. Judges, it was said, decided according to rule, with very little recognition of the inevitability of judicial development of the law. Their reasoning was frequently wooden and literal. The spirit was often ignored. Robert Stevens, an outstanding Anglo-American, writing of the House of Lords refers to 1940-1955 as 'the era of substantive formalism' (*Law and Politics: The House of Lords as Judicial Body* (1800-1976) (1979) Part Three). But then suddenly (or so it appeared to me soon after I started the study of law and as I was about to go to America for the first time) the English and New Zealand scene began to change – and drastically. That change in part parallels the legislative change that I have briefly mentioned and the broader social changes that such legal changes manifest. But great judges were part of it. In England Lord Denning became the head of the Court of Appeal and changed, possibly forever, the perception of the possible role of the English judge. Lord Reid as the senior Law Lord in Britain wrote major judgments through the 1960s and 1970s and dispelled what he referred to as the fairy tale that judges do not make law. We do not, he said in 1972, believe in fairy tales any more. We must accept the fact that for better or for worse judges do make law and tackle the question how do they approach this task and how should they approach it ('The Judge as Law Maker' (1972) 12 *JSPTL* 22).

The writing of three senior New Zealand judges can be used to evidence first the changing and widening view held here of the judicial role and the emphasis on developing a law for New Zealand. They do, however, also evidence the intangible and the ubiquitous character of influences, for one had his first real test outside New Zealand in PT boats in the Adriatic, the second went to Cambridge for his graduate work and only the third to the United States, to Michigan (e.g., Woodhouse, *Government Under The Law*, J C Beaglehole Memorial Lecture 1979; Cook, 'Divergences – England, Australia and New Zealand' (1983) *NZLJ* 297; and Richardson, 'The Role of Judges as Policy Makers' (1985) 15 *VUWLR* 46).

Such questioning of, and debate about, the judicial process is very long established in the United States. The discussion is sophisticated, theoretical and practical. The wide role of law and of lawyers – while often disputed – had much firmer foundations than in our tradition. We have had clear evidence of this in recent years in the slight quality of much of the debate in the United Kingdom about its possible adoption of a Bill of Rights compared with the excellent standard of the best American constitutional writing. The best American writing illuminates enduring questions about the proper extent of the judicial power, the legal process and the organisation and control of public power.

I do not have a conclusion. In a way it would be contrary to what I have gained over the past 25 years to have one. Let me draw to a close with some more quotes. For one of my colleagues, the American tradition and method bring a fundamental appreciation that the law is a positive social force. For another the move from one tradition to another presents boundless vistas not constrained by crabbed caution. The American method, building on the best of the Old World inheritance, challenges us to see the law in context, to examine both the detail and the wide picture, and to test the law, so that in our own land it may mediate continuity and change, heresy and heritage, and provide the wise restraints that make us free.

One great graduate of the Harvard Law School who early decided to pursue poetry rather than take a partnership in a major Boston law firm and who later became Librarian of Congress and an adviser to President Roosevelt wrote a marvellous poem for a poet who had just died. He later read it to the editors of the Harvard Law Review, suggesting as had Shelley before him, an interesting parallel between the poet and the legislator. Let me read a few lines of it. For me they state a central challenge to lawyers, to those involved in teaching, as well as to poets.

> The labour of order has no rest;
> To impose on the confused, fortuitous
> Flowing away of the world, Form –

Still, cool, clean, obdurate,
Lasting forever, or at least
Lasting...

(Archibald MacLeish, *Reasons for Music*; see Apologia (1972) 85 *Harv L Rev* 1505)

Appendix A
Victoria Handbook
THE STUDY OF THE LAW*

The law courses at Victoria aim to combine a general liberal education with a grounding in the specific knowledge and skills necessary for the various careers in law. Most law graduates eventually go into private practice. The Law Faculty recognizes that it has a major obligation to provide a kind of education which equips its graduates for such a career. This does not, however, mean that it cannot cater for students interested in other careers. Nor does it mean that a law course should be an apprenticeship course. A narrow technical approach, one that fails to consider law in its social context, has no place in a university and, in any event, is of little use to anyone who hopes to practise law. Technical legal competence is essential but by itself it is not enough.

Law operates not only to order society as we now know it. It is also an affirmative force in the process of orderly social change. Law is not static. Those who understand the law and the processes by which it functions are in a position to make truly important contributions to society. By adapting and using the teachings of the past rather than merely echoing them, they are able to find solutions to new social problems as they arise. Accelerating changes in society, its values and technology, will lead to rapid changes in the law. This means that the study of law cannot be realistically confined to the rote learning of rules. In order to understand those changes, and to help initiate some of them, a lawyer needs a general liberal education. This is provided in part by the arts or science credits which students take at the beginning of their law course. In addition, law teachers are coming to recognise the need to draw upon the insight and techniques of other disciplines both in the teaching of law subjects themselves and in order to ensure that law graduates are able to understand and participate in future developments in the law. Again, this inter-disciplinary approach reflects the belief that law is not a 'closed system obedient to some secret internal process but is intimately bound up with the society which it regulates'.

A law course should, in the view of the Faculty, develop the following interrelated qualities:

(i) Understanding of the role of law in society:
Some aspects of the role and function of law, and lawyers, in society have been briefly discussed above.

(ii) Knowledge of institutional environment:
The knowledge of the role of Parliament, local bodies, courts, officials, agencies, and other public or private institutions, their uses and the limits of their effectiveness.

(iii) Analytical skills:
The capacity to analyse legal materials, that is to read and understand Acts of Parliament, judicial decisions, and other legal materials; the capacity to analyse a problem, that is to separate the material facts from the immaterial facts, to survey the problem from many perspectives; and the capacity to apply relevant legal principles, policies and rules to those facts.

(iv) Research skills:
The capacity to find the relevant law by use of the library and to find other information which is needed.

(v) Communicative skills:
The capacity to listen and to argue and to write effectively.

(vi) Knowledge of the law and its practical implications:
The knowledge of some of the important parts of the law, sufficient knowledge to enable tentative diagnoses of many problems so as to indicate the direction of further analysis and research.

(vii) Professional knowledge and skills:
The capacity to draft court documents and conveyancing documents (e.g., documents giving effect to the buying, selling, mortgaging, and leasing of property); the capacity to anticipate and circumvent legal or factual problems and to help clients organize their affairs to the full advantage within the law; a knowledge of office and courtroom practice.

(viii) Public responsibility:

A sense of professional responsibility to clients, to courts, and to the legal system as a whole.

Different teachers and students at Victoria would place different emphasis on these objectives and no doubt they would also differ on the extent to which these objectives are achieved in the various courses currently taught at Victoria. The emphasis also differs from year to year; so there is very heavy emphasis on analytical skills in the early subjects; and the role and function of law is a central concern of the optional subjects in the third year.

While the law degree contains a common core of subjects which must be taken by all students, it also permits students in the later stages of the course to choose between a number of optional subjects. These optional subjects give the course a certain amount of flexibility. Some students will choose subjects because of their inherent interest. Others may elect to do subjects which relate to some aspect of private practice which they hope to pursue. Those planning to work in the public service, in administration or in business may similarly choose subjects most suitable for their intended career.

Law subjects require students to do a lot of reading and thinking on their own. They are required to develop their understanding of the law and their analytical skills by working their own way though prescribed materials. Most of the early law subjects have tutorial programmes in which students meet in small groups in order to develop analytical skills through discussion. These skills and the related research skills are emphasised in the small group programme in the second year which is described in the section headed 'Legal Writing and Research Programme'. They are also required to do written exercises and to give opinions on the problems raised by different fact situations. In addition to this, however, some law teachers believe that all lectures, or a large part of them, should be replaced by class discussion. They believe in a variation of the Socratic method of teaching sometimes called 'the case method'. Under the case method, students are required to read in advance of each class either the judgment given by the Court in some reported case or some other material which they are then asked to discuss in class. Students are required to work things out for themselves rather than to write down the views of the lecturer. Devotees of this method of teaching claim that it is a most effective way of developing skills of analysis and oral communication.

If lawyers are to contribute to and cope with a rapidly changing society they need a general liberal education which encourages them to think for themselves and helps them to understand something of the role of law in society. They also need a variety of professional skills and knowledge. The Faculty hopes that its courses go some way to meet these needs. If they do so, then they provide an education of use and interest to those who do not intend to enter the private practice of the law as well as to those who do.

* This section draws heavily on material published by the Osgoode Hall Law School in Canada and by the College of Law of Iowa University in the United States of America.

Appendix B
INCLUDED IN OTAGO HANDBOOKS IN PAST
Postscript

If I were to try to describe a good lawyer in a phrase I would call him a professional in versatility. This is another way of saying that he has acquired certain abilities that enable him to operate effectively in any enterprise, familiar or unfamiliar, to diagnose its difficulties and contribute substantially to the solution of its problems. His usual field of operation is one in which the legal ingredient is large, and to this ingredient he brings professional knowledge as well as the basic abilities; but the fact that the non-legal ingredient is frequently dominant and the further fact that the situations in which his help is solicited are many and varied give him the habit of tackling new problems with confidence and skill, regardless of their nature.

My listing of the basic qualities is the following:

1 Fact consciousness. An insistence upon getting the facts, checking their accuracy, and sloughing off the element of conclusion and opinion.

2 A sense of relevance. The capacity to recognise what is relevant to the issue at hand and to cut away irrelevant facts, opinions, and emotions which can cloud the issue.

3 Comprehensiveness. The capacity to see all sides of a problem, all factors that bear upon it, and all possible ways of approaching it.

4 Foresight. The capacity to take the long view, to anticipate remote and collateral consequences, to look several moves ahead in the particular chess game that is being played.

5 Lingual sophistication. An immunity to being fooled by words and catch-phrases; a refusal to accept verbal solutions which merely conceal the problem.

6 Precision and persuasiveness of speech. That mastery of the language which involves (a) the ability to state exactly what one means, no more, no less, and (b) the ability to reach other men with one's own thought, to create in their minds the picture that is in one's own.

7 And finally, and pervading all the rest, and possibly the only one that is really basic, self-discipline in habits of thoroughness, an abhorrence of superficiality and approximation.

Professor W Barton Leach
Harvard Law School

Appendix C

(1953) Vol 1, No. 1, VUCLR

Professor R O McGechan

THE CASE METHOD OF TEACHING LAW

It is not my purpose to trace in this article the evolution of Case Method teaching in American law schools. It is a method which has accumulated to itself a sizeable literature and a grand mana, richly deserved. Yet I am sure that it had quite practical origins and that much of the theory to justify it was sheer invention. For myself I am satisfied that it is the most effective method of training lawyers and that is its justification.

What is immediately necessary is to let law students at Victoria University College know something about this method we are in the process of developing here.

First of all let us be quite clear about one thing, that Case Method is a generic term covering a wide variety of methods. Students familiar with the lecture method know that lecturing techniques vary enormously from teacher to teacher and subject to subject. So it is with Case Method, which, in America, has developed a flexibility owing little, directly at least, to theory, and much to the practical requirements of sound teaching. You may expect different techniques from each of the law teachers at Victoria University College, even though we claim to be employing this method of teaching.

Some short statements of the functions of a law school may well be in order. I had to clarify my own thoughts on these some short time ago and perhaps I may be excused for repeating what I said. The functions are: 1. To teach and train lawyers, 2. To develop legal knowledge by research and publication, 3. To co-operate with other social sciences for the better understanding of the law and the betterment of applied social science. Though we hope that shortly you may be given some opportunity at the LL.M. level to take part in the second of these functions, and our work in the third may inform our teaching, you will be interested in the main in the first, the teaching and training of lawyers.

Notice that the purpose is not to teach law, but to teach and train lawyers. The training is an integral part of one process. Training, and learning law, go hand in hand. Don't imagine that this is what inevitably happens at any and every law school at the hands of any and every teacher.

In fact neither the ordinary student text book, nor the usual lecture, are sound instruments for the training of lawyers. The reason for this is clear. The student text book is an arrangement of dogmatic statements that the law is so and so, followed by illustrations from cases asserted to be authority for the dogmatic statement, and a series of footnotes, partly referring to literature the student knows he need not read, and references to other cases, called authorities, in which the law round and about the matter was discussed or at least mentioned, but which of course again the student will not read. Nowadays student text books with their varied types and aids to easy memorizing are little more than cram books where the candidate can learn to pass that memory test miscalled a law examination paper. The lecture, qua lecture, can do little more than the text book. We have veered away from these things at V.U.C., but they are what we reacted to.

Whatever the evolution of Case Method in America, the evolution of it at V.U.C., begins with the advent of professors who came to teaching from practice, without any theoretical training in teaching methods, and, be it admitted, without the conviction that the methods by which they had been taught at law school were adequate.

The basic must-nots for you in practice are citation of elementary student text books and the opinions of your teachers. The basic must is citation of authority which really is authority for the proposition of law you want the court to accept, backed up by adequate and appropriate argument to convince the Court; and sound law teaching is necessarily concerned with this must. It cannot be enough to learn, uncritically, a number of legal rules divorced from the uses to which they can be put. Trite perhaps, but basic, and, in most places, ignored.

It was during the period beginning a few years before the war and ending a few years after the war that we changed our methods at V.U.C. While continuing to lecture we set about demonstrating to the student in class just how the rule stated was derived from the cases. We did this after the pattern of argument to support the proposition of law in Court. We developed in this way a new lecturing technique. This in turn led us to further exploration of methods. One of the most interesting experiments I remember carrying out during the war was one in a Contract class, in which war-time numbers were few. For each class hour students were required to read one of the cases cited by Anson. During class we discussed whether that case established the proposition of law for which it was cited. More often than not, at least alone and unaided, it did not establish it. We had no case book, but we were using Case Method. That class has never forgotten the work we did; they revert to it often when we meet.

What I would like students today to realise is that though we are avowedly borrowing freely from America's eight odd years' experience in Case Method, the growth of the method at V.U.C. is a healthy indigenous development. We acknowledge our great indebtedness to American teachers. All four of our full-time teachers have been to the United States. We have at present in Professor Dunham one of their best teachers with us, so that we may learn from his handling of New Zealand students. But, basically, the growth is indigenous.

The essential difference between the old method and the new lies in the attitude to law the student is asked to adopt. Learning in Case Method is for the student a positive, active process of working, searching and thinking under guidance from his teachers, of finding the law for himself from the sources. By contrast the lecture method views the student as receptive, with the negative function of understanding what he is given on the authority of his teacher (or text book).

Because it means that the student discovers the law for himself, Case Method has advantages both in the training of lawyers and as a form of university education.

The advantages of Case Method as a way of training young lawyers once the core of the method is appreciated seem to me to be clear. The student learns by doing; and by doing in the way all lawyers do their work, in the way he himself will work throughout his professional life. He learns techniques as well as law. He has constantly before him the crucial questions. What would a court regard that case as deciding? How could I use that case to establish this proposition? How do I draft a document to protect my client from the effect of that case? He learns that law not only is but is becoming, and is made. And, as will appear later, he learns to give voice to his ideas, an asset of great value to all lawyers.

What he acquires in techniques is surely clear gain. But, perhaps, being critical, you object that he will not know much law when he finishes his course. On the contrary I am sure, for I have had unmistakeable evidence from quarters which must know, that our students learn more law in the same time than others do by the lecture system. The process of learning more in less time is only just beginning with us and may go a long way further yet. The truth is that every case, once you divorce it from the proposition in a text book it is used to illustrate, contains in itself a wealth of law, and the cumulative effect of the critical examination of cases is much more wide-ranging than text books and lectures can ever be. And the law acquired by search for it yourself sticks – for years. It is not forgotten when the examination is over. For years I have been aghast at the amount of text book law the student learns and forgets. In fact all practitioners know, as I have often heard them say, that they have passed examinations without really learning very much. At V.U.C. we are just not prepared to let that situation go on.

I believe there is very great value in Case Method because it proceeds by way of concrete instances seen in the light of the legal ideas which underlie them. This is and has been through the ages the way of the law. Too great an abstraction robs a student of substantial contact with his subject. If he can see and think the abstract in its concrete manifestations he can come to grips with it for it meets his experience and so enables him to learn.

We turned to Case Method, then, because we wanted the student to learn actively by doing, not passively by repeating; because we wanted him to learn the techniques, the way of the law and not so many rules; because we wanted him to learn for keeps, not pass examinations. There are other weighty reasons for the change, reasons which put Case Method in a wider university setting.

A law school, after all, is part, maybe we are even justified in thinking it a vital part, of a university. And a university is an institution where the student is taught to develop his intellectual powers. It is not an institution where you acquire so many items or yards of information – in terms of law, so many rules of law, or, as I have put it elsewhere, a yard and half of law. Primarily it is a place where you develop your capacity to think.

Law is quite good material for university purposes, provided it is used to encourage the development of a lively intellect. And Case Method is the best of methods for encouraging that development. It is interesting for a teacher to watch a student develop over a year or two as he is first made to, then learns to, and ultimately enjoys, thinking in class and aloud. I take it every lawyer would agree that a critical and lively mind is invaluable in practice. Our difficulty has been to get the practitioner to be critical about the legal education he was subjected to, to be critical about it above all in a practical way. He will cling to the quaint notion that if you chop off a unit here and there the student will get through more quickly: the truth is that mature, trained and developed intellects learn more quickly, and if attention were given to training, instead of to the number of units, students could take the present course, learning more from it too, in less time. I believe that at V.U.C. we are gradually making advance along this line.

One constantly hears of the need for individual tuition at university level if the university is to fulfill its true function. Case Method carries individual tuition as far as it can be taken in class. In discussion a teacher soon gets to know his students as individuals, addresses questions, each appropriately graded in difficulty and varied in interest, to the individual student as to someone he knows. In fact not only does the teacher get to know his class, but the class get to know each other very well, very quickly, and educate each other. This is just as it should be.

Case Method classes have that other indispensable element of all good teaching, they are enjoyable for all parties concerned. I have not yet taken a class without one or two students resenting (for an hour or two) having to think when called on, or to think at all, and there are always one or two students who yawn (actually or metaphorically) – a carry-over from times past. I do not of course ever let these things go by. But I have watched with some amusement the resentment disappear and the 'please do not disturb' languor give way to interest and keenness. A Case Method class is a live one – and you can't really learn while you are bored.

21

THE IMPACT OF UNITED STATES IDEAS ON LEGAL EDUCATION IN NEW ZEALAND

Marcy Farden McLay

The perspective that I have of both the United States system of legal education and that in New Zealand is primarily one of a student. Having been educated in the United States, my initial response to the impact or influence of United States ideas of legal education in New Zealand was that there was little or no impact. Curiously, the Americans I spoke with on the topic tended to agree with me, pointing out the considerable differences not only in structure but in substance of the law as it is practised here in New Zealand. This attitude contrasted sharply with that of New Zealand lawyers, many of whom had received graduate legal degrees in the United States. The New Zealanders tended to point to the significant influence of American legal ideas that permeated the law schools, professional legal training courses, continuing legal education courses, new currents in the common law and finally in the development of new legislation.

American ideas of legal education can be grouped into five loose categories. First, ideas about the structure of legal education itself. Second, ideas on how to teach the law as a discipline. Third, ideas about how the practice of law and particularly the law as developed by the judiciary affect the teaching of law. Four, perceptions of the law (historically as a limited, narrow discipline, and today within the broader social, political and economic context). Five, the influence of the profession on legal education.

THE STRUCTURE OF LEGAL EDUCATION

The path from law training as a trade completed primarily in a law firm, to law training beginning with a university-based fulltime degree was difficult and controversial in both the United States and New Zealand. Fulltime university-based graduate training in the law began in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Schools such as Harvard Law School formed and gradually became the accepted norm for training in the law. A parallel development was the rise of the fulltime university law professor. One scholar commenting on this development attributed it to both the values of the nineteenth century middle class and the rise of similar professions in the social sciences (Schlegel, 'Between the Harvard Founders and the American Legal Realists: The Professionalization of the American Law Professor', 35, *J of Legal Ed*, 311).

The desire to conceive of the law as a 'science' was similar to that of economists, sociologists and political scientists who saw their own disciplines as 'science'.

In New Zealand, this same structure of legal education took hold but developed much later. Until the 1960s, training for the law was a mixture of part-time university-based law study and fulltime apprenticeship in a law office. Such a path to the practice of law was largely based on English ideas of legal education. By the end of the decade fulltime university-based study of the law was required to obtain the undergraduate LLB degree. New Zealand, like other Commonwealth countries adopted the fulltime undergraduate law degree and the profession, through the Law Society, made attainment of the degree a prerequisite for entry to the bar.

The general acceptance of the fulltime, university-based law degree occurred after the introduction of fulltime university law professors in New Zealand. But their acceptance within the university community as academics and within the profession, began to ease once the fulltime degree programme became the norm. Times were very tough for these academics, particularly in contrast to their United States colleagues, many of whom were held in very high esteem. Professor Brian Coote of the University of Auckland School of Law wrote that the high position of the legal academic fraternity in the United States was primarily due to the fact that the United

States legal system itself accepted and, in fact, encouraged the evaluation of legal doctrines (B Coote, 'A Law Teacher Looks at His Trade', 3, *NZULR*, 38). His argument, based upon the character of New Zealand common law as opposed to the law as developed in the United States, is probably only part of the reason that United States law professors were more easily accepted by both the academic and legal communities. Clearly the fact that law teaching as a profession had existed for over 100 years had a great deal to do with the status of the law teacher in the United States. Despite the criticism of the bar that university lawyers are too academic their contribution could not be done without in New Zealand.

The move to create university-based law schools in the United States occurred because a group of influential law teachers began to press for the study of law, not just as a technical or practical area of consideration. Men such as Harvard Dean Langdell and Professors Ames, Thayer and Gray saw the study of law as something requiring broader concepts for evaluation and synthesis. Later in the 1920s and 1930s educators looked beyond the law itself to other disciplines, so that law was seen within the context of the whole social, political and economic life of the community. Thinking about the law in this way was something that the profession itself could not or would not develop. The legal academics saw their opportunity and created the law school structure based on their belief that law was something beyond a 'trade'. These same ideas of the early Harvard law teachers and later legal realists influenced New Zealand academics, reaching fruition in the early 1960s with the establishment of a fulltime university-based course of legal study. The viewing of law as a science with the advent of modern reporting of cases was first suggested in the 1960s in New Zealand, again a development similar to the American ideas about the nature of the law (Coote, at 41).

Concurrent with this structural development was the advent of the separate library of law volumes. Although some law schools previously had separate libraries, one law professor has commented that law libraries in this country virtually began from scratch in the 1960s (Coote, at 42). Unfortunately the American requirements on number, varieties of legal volumes and library physical structure have not gained acceptance here if the current rather poor law library facilities are anything to go by. This may, of course, arise because the funding comes from the general university library fund rather than out of the fund provided for the law school. In addition, the lack of interest on the part of the profession with respect to the facilities of the law schools in this country could also be a part of the problem. In the United States a factor in gaining approval by the American Bar Association is the number and variety of the law library volumes, as well as the actual structure of the library facility. United States law schools, like other academic institutions, also encourage alumni participation which leads to monetary and in kind contributions to the schools. Thus, schools undergo constant expansion and modernisation of facilities, and particularly libraries.

TEACHING METHODOLOGY AND SUBSTANCE

Beyond the structure of law schools, American ideas on how to teach the law have had some influence in New Zealand. Probably the earliest American teaching method used in New Zealand was the socratic method, which can be described as a dialogue of active involvement between teacher and students. In its liveliest form this teaching method requires rigorous cross examination of students so that every aspect of the case and issues raised can be exposed. The socratic method was first conceived and developed at the Harvard Law School by Professor Langdell in the late 1800s. As with most new teaching methods it created a great deal of controversy and there are still many who believe it is not the most effective means to meet the objectives of law courses, whether they be the transmission of particular legal doctrines or the learning of specific analytical skills. In New Zealand the socratic method was probably first utilised with the advent of the fulltime university-based professor. Within the profession in New Zealand today there are senior solicitors and barristers who can recall being taught by the socratic method in the 1950s and 1960s. (Sir Kenneth Keith claims that Victoria Law School was the first to employ the socratic method.) In the United States the socratic method of teaching law is today generally confined to the first year of law school. It is a shock introduction for most students to their next three years of intense study. In New Zealand, the socratic method is used in some law courses but there appears to be no particular policy on when it should be used and for what purpose.

The earliest method of teaching law was the lecture or expository teaching method, used by other university disciplines and favoured by part-time instructors. It is not only the easiest teaching methodology but is particularly suited to the large classes that have been the hallmark of law courses since the establishment of the Harvard Law School structure.

A newer and more recent American teaching method is known as problem method teaching. In this form the students are assigned specific problems for solution involving the use of course materials. The solutions arrived at then become the focus of the class. One recent suggestion has been the adoption of integrated learning or process courses where the problem is solved not just by resort to any one legal doctrine. The approach to the problem is wide and solutions require the use of a variety of legal doctrines as well as theory and information from other disciplines. The aim of such courses is to introduce students to thinking in broad terms about typical problems that are presented to practitioners. This approach to teaching is directly attributable to American ideas of how to teach the law. It has been widely practised in United States law schools for over 15 years (Hammond, at 41, *NZULR*, 9: 1, June 1980).

Another teaching format not yet adopted in New Zealand but certainly considered (at least by some law teachers), is the clinical legal training method used in some form in a majority of United States law schools. The course is usually designed to teach students about aspects of trial advocacy. For teachers difficulties arise not so much with how to teach such courses but in the supervision and evaluation of students. For the law school and the university the problem relates to the costs of implementing such courses which can only be successfully run with very low student to teacher ratios.

In the United States all of these forms of teaching are utilised, in addition to the tutorial approach. Most often a law instructor will use a combination of approaches depending upon the material to be covered, the objectives of the course and her own abilities with each method. In New Zealand a similar position is taken.

PERCEPTIONS OF THE LAW

Probably the next biggest area of influential American legal ideas involves how the law is perceived. Writing in 1968 one New Zealand law professor said that, because of the strict stare decisis requirements of the common law, academic lawyers were condemned to the study of 'old cases'. No considerations or insights of other disciplines such as sociology, economics or anthropology were considered possible because judges could only consider the material produced by their predecessors. Pointing to the American system where stare decisis was not as strong he said American lawyers are by their very training and environment comparative lawyers. Practitioners in the United States were not only accustomed to comparing and evaluating the legal solutions of the different jurisdictions but also have the habit of evaluating cases by reference to more than legal solutions. Today, the study of law in New Zealand is generally not seen within these narrow confines. Instead, the student is exposed to a wide variety of subjects other than the law and is expected to apply this knowledge within the context of legal study.

The report of Professor Neil Gold to the New Zealand Law Society in January 1987 is one of the more recent references to how legal education is viewed here:

> Law education is both deep and varied. Because law cannot be helpfully abstracted from its social, economic and political milieu, it cannot be truly understood except in the context of human aspiration and endeavour. Yet it is also a practical subject which seeks solutions to difficult problems of policy and justice... (Gold, p.17).

This wider view of the law is clearly an influence with its roots in American ideas about law and legal education (J B White, 'Doctrine in a Vacuum, Reflections on What a Law School Ought (and Ought Not) to Be', *J Legal Educ*, 155, Je 1986). The influence is partly responsible for proposals to make the law degree into a graduate level course of study with an undergraduate degree as a prerequisite to admission. While this path has been rejected within the past few years it is likely that the increasing pressure on the profession to perform with greater sophistication will mean that these proposals will continue to be heard. The greatest stumbling block to such proposals is of course economic.

As an American trained lawyer the tasks set by New Zealand law schools seem formidable. Not only are students expected to take courses designed to provide them with a broad liberal arts education, but they are also expected to graduate with an understanding of the law. The student must have a good grasp of the basic legal doctrines and an understanding of the context of the law within society. These objectives are to be met within a very short space of time when compared to their American colleagues.

New Zealand students studying for an LLB receive approximately 1200 hours a year instruction in law and other disciplines. About 1000 to 1050 hours of the total time is devoted to legal instruction annually. After four years a law student will graduate with a minimum of 3000 hours of legal instruction and another 6000 hours of study for a total of 9000 hours of law-related education. This should be contrasted with the United States law student who begins law school with 8000 or more hours of undergraduate instruction and study in a variety of disciplines. When the United States law degree is conferred a minimum of 13,500 hours will have been spent on law. This simple comparison of legal education in New Zealand and the United States leads to doubts as to whether New Zealand students with such a background are adequately prepared to face the challenges of practising law in an increasingly complex environment.

One of the more controversial American legal philosophies concerning the perception of law seems not to have made any great impact on New Zealand legal education. In the United States, the critical legal studies (CLS) movement questions the legitimacy of legal theory claiming that it has been developed as a basis for law whether statutory or judicial to promote the predominant social order (This is a very simplified definition of CLS theory. For a more detailed explanation of CLS theory and its impact on legal education see, P J Monahan, 'Law, Politics and the Critical Legal Scholars', 36, *Stanford LR*, 199.). CLS criticises the traditional approach to legal theory which, it says, fails to take into account the actual legal order within the wider social environment. For the proponents of 'legal nihilism', as it is also known, there is no distinction between the law and politics. The British have drawn some of the CLS ideas into their system of legal education. But to date there is no apparent influence of CLS theories here in New Zealand or Australia (Goldring, 'Babies & Bathwater; Tradition or Progress in Legal Scholarship and Legal Education', 17, *UW Aus.LR*, 216-256.) (A search of the New Zealand legal literature failed to identify a critique of CLS theory from the New Zealand perspective. However, there are a few law courses taught in New Zealand law schools which introduce CLS theory.) It seems likely that as an outgrowth of the legal realists' theories of the 1920s and 30s some form of CLS theory will eventually find a permanent place in New Zealand law schools.

THE ACADEMIC APPROACH TO THE LAW AND THE TRAINING IN A TRADE APPROACH

In both the United States and New Zealand there is a tension between how academic lawyers perceive the function of law school and how practitioners view its place (J O Mudd, 'Beyond Rationalism: Performance Referenced Legal Education', 36, *J of Legal Educ.*, 189; McFarlane, Jeeves & Boone, 'Education for Life or Work', 137, *New Law J* 835, R S Summers, 'Fuller on Legal Education', 34, *J of Legal Educ*, 8). This argument was probably inevitable once fulltime university-based legal education became a prerequisite for admission to the bar. Initially, the outcome was confined to an either/or solution. However, American legal educators moved beyond this to push for a combined approach to learning about the law in schools. A second and newer development involves the rejection of the profession's belief in an emphasis on doctrinal content alone and the assertion that legal education must provide an 'intellectual basis for lifelong critical reflectiveness about legal institutions, the profession and one's own work in the actual changing conditions of social life and legal practice' (Quoted from *Report of the Committee on Educational Planning and Development*, 1982, Harvard, Michelman). This move was a rejection of law school as a place of learning how to 'think like a lawyer' (See Diplock, 'Introduction to a Discussion of the Wilson Report', ix, *Journal of the Society of Public Teachers of Law*, 200) and similar positions are taken in New Zealand:

> Law schools are... committed to a tension between intellectual reflection on the one hand and the concrete demands of a professional career on the other. It is a curious assumption... that holds that practical professional skills are necessarily at odds with legal education 'intellectually based and humanistically motivated'. The current demand for practical skills surely becomes a threat to university-based training only at that point where it ignores the broad range of values and social interests that legal education, properly conceived, is called upon to cultivate (Hammond, *NZULR* 9:1, at 29-30, June 1980).

Gold recommended that the university law degree should encompass a general legal education made up of courses which serve as 'foundations of law study – its concepts, policies, values and theories'. While he does not reject outright the doctrinal emphasis promoted by practitioners he suggests that this is beyond the role of the law schools in the education of undergraduate students. A recent report on Australian law schools takes a similar stand and strongly advises against directing academic, professional or segregated specialties at the undergraduate level. (*Australian Law Schools: A Discipline Assessment for the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission.* Volume One, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1987, at 21.)

The law schools themselves appear to be coalescing around a general stand whereby they reject the role of providing for the study of all legal doctrine and instead concentrate on the study of fundamental legal doctrines, the teaching of lifelong skills of intellectual analysis and evaluation combined with the goals of a broad liberal arts education. Beyond this the law schools view it as the responsibility of the profession to provide forums for teaching professional skills. In New Zealand this is accomplished through a thirteen week professional skills course, which began in 1988. Although this course is primarily based upon the rigorous full year Canadian professional course some of the subjects, for example legal ethics, and the teaching methodologies used, are products of American ideas of legal teaching.

INFLUENCE OF THE PROFESSION

There are two direct influences of American legal ideas in the practice of New Zealand law. The first results from the position taken by the Court of Appeal whereby it expects counsel to make reference to the 'wider social and economic concerns' and 'social and legal history' as well as law reform committee materials, international conventions, etc. (Quoted from Sir Ivor Richardson, 'The Role of Judges as Policy Makers', 15, (1985), *VUWLR* at 50). Amongst more experienced barristers there appears to be a general practice of including materials from a wide variety of jurisdictions, and disciplines. This is particularly true where new theories or doctrines are being argued before the courts. Two areas in which this is likely to occur in the near future are in corporate law and the law related to the establishment of Maori land rights. In its courts as well as its legislatures the United States has developed new and vigorous law in these areas. (Consider for example the possible adoption of, and adaptation of, New Jersey's strict casino control laws within New Zealand or the use of legal theory adopted in Native America fisheries cases in the Pacific northwest). In addition, the development of citation to Parliamentary reports and statements on legislation is an entirely new foray of the common law. This has long been accepted practice in United States courts and has led to a greater emphasis at the law school phase on the multi-disciplinary approach to legal problems.

The second area of American influence arises because of the number of senior barristers and solicitors with graduate legal degrees from the United States. There is a greater tendency amongst these lawyers, whether they practice law or teach law, to think of law as involving a full panoply of problems and solutions. (See W D Baragwanath, 'F W Guest Memorial Lecture: The Dynamics of the Common Law', *Otago LR*, 1987, Vol. 6, No. 3, 355-369). The only limitation on their regular use of United States material is the difficult access to cases and legal writings. This may change with the greater use of LEXIS and similar database systems.

A final influence of American legal ideas is apparent in the adoption of continuing legal education courses at the professional level. In the United States and New Zealand there is wide recognition that the practitioner must not only keep abreast of developments within special areas of law but also gain competence in new doctrinal areas. Beyond the courses dealing with new case law and legal doctrines there are courses designed to teach specific legal skills, such as trial advocacy. Again such courses are directly influenced by American ideas. In fact the Fulbright programme has been instrumental in providing financial support for courses sponsored by the New Zealand bar where the aim is to teach particular legal skills.

CONCLUSIONS

The influence of American ideas about legal education is not at first apparent in New Zealand law schools nor in the practice of law. However, investigations of the literature and the historical development of law

272 -

schools and how the law is taught, as well as how it is perceived, reveal otherwise. Such influences are likely to continue with the increased pressure on the profession, whether practising or academic, especially in view of the position taken by the New Zealand Court of Appeal. In addition, the continuing stream of barristers, solicitors and academics with advanced American legal degrees will ensure that the wider multi-disciplinary approach to the law that is common to the practice of American law will make a continuing contribution to the development of law in New Zealand.

22

BEYOND THE CLASSROOM: AMERICAN POPULAR CULTURE, NEW ZEALAND YOUTH AND MORAL PANICS

Geoff Lealand

My contribution will be centred around a discussion of the nature of 'moral panics', why these have occurred in New Zealand, and why it has been American popular culture which has generated regular panics amongst New Zealanders (especially New Zealand educators). So far, we have been talking about the American influence on New Zealand education with an emphasis on formal policy and practice. I am going to ask you to take a giant leap over the classroom walls, into the 'real world', for I am going to talk about the American-New Zealand connection beyond the classroom. Despite the faith that holds that the most important learning process occurs in the school, I argue that complementary, and often competing, lessons learnt from the playground, the home, and the media are frequently more important - it is where it all happens; where impressions are formed; and values moulded. I do not claim, however, that learning from television is more important than learning from teachers - I only argue that such learning can often be as important.

Educators have frequently recognised the existence of such competition but the usual response has been to panic, rather than to carefully investigate what is being learnt from popular culture. There have been numerous panics in the past 70 years and there is good documentation of some of these. Some come and go as nine-day wonders; some are sustained campaigns that have culminated in government legislation. Public concern about the seemingly all-pervasive presence of American popular culture in New Zealand continues to generate regular panics, even though they may no longer be sustained or organised, or as critical a spur to state intervention as they were, for example, in the 1950s.

But regular alarms are still sounded. It is significant that when young New Zealanders are seen to be in moral jeopardy, there is often unity across the political spectrum from self-appointed moral guardians. The rhetoric from the Right and the Left may sound different, but the philosophical thrust is identical - 'values' are being threatened, youngsters are getting 'uppity' again; or are once again poor deluded fools, as in Wertham's *The Seduction of the Innocent*, a 1955 landmark jeremiad against the influence of comics on the young. The solution offered is always censorship.[1]

WHAT IS A 'MORAL PANIC'?

Openshaw and Shuker define a 'moral panic' as 'The (middle-class) response to popular culture'. You could bracket in there, 'the (middle-class) response to (American) popular culture'. The explanation for moral panics is derived from Stanley Cohen's *Folk Devils and Moral Panics* (1980), where he uses the example of Mods and Rockers in Britain, and the response to their public rituals.

He describes:

1. The emergence of a 'problem' usually associated with perceived negative influences on the young,

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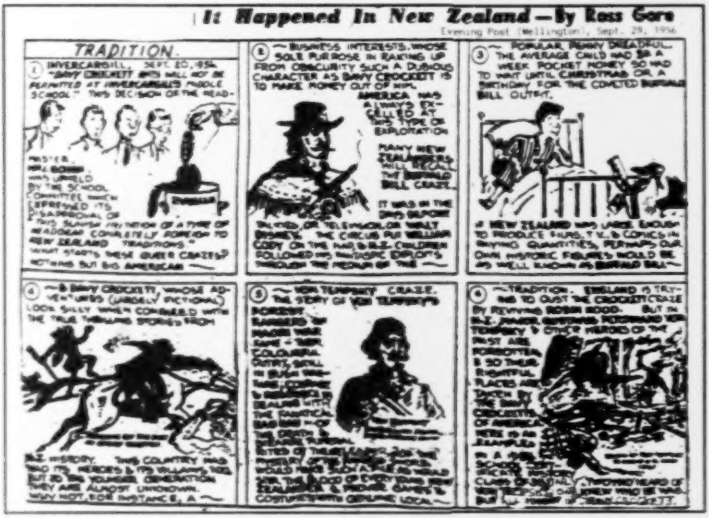
[1] I must acknowledge my debt to the pioneering work on this subject that has been done by Roy Shuker and Roger Openshaw of the Education Department, Massey University. Their efforts will culminate in a book, *Youth, Media and Moral Panic in New Zealand*, due to be published in 1989. In the meantime I refer you to their contribution 'Silent Movies and Comics' in the collection of 1986 Stout Research Centre conference papers, *The American Connection* (Allen & Unwin, 1988). Their work, in turn, owes much to the studies published by Martin Barker in the United Kingdom, especially his *A Haunt of Fears: the Strange History of the British Horror Comics Campaign* (Pluto, 1984).

2. The development of community concern, usually fuelled (or orchestrated) by the media, and out of all proportion to the actual scale of the problem,
3. A political reaction, often culminating in hasty legislation aimed at tightening control over the cultural form that has aroused concern.

A SHORT HISTORY OF MORAL PANICS IN NEW ZEALAND

1910 - 1920:	The establishment of Hollywood in New Zealand
1915:	NZEI crusade against impure pictures
1916:	Cinematographic Film Censorship Bill
1921 & 1926:	Strengthened film censorship
1930s to 1940s:	The introduction of talkies and new film genres (the gangster movie, Busby Berkeley; also the arrival of GIs in New Zealand with attendant moral dangers for New Zealand womanhood)
1950s:	Rock 'n Roll, Elvis Presley, bodgies and widgies, comics. The arrival of highly visible signs of American youth culture, generating panics about 'juvenile delinquency', 'sex crimes' and imitative behaviour. This resulted in:
1952:	The Interdepartmental Committee on Worthless and Indecent Literature.
1954:	Special committee on Moral Delinquency in Children and Adolescents (this produced the Mazengarb Report).
1954:	Indecent Publications Amendment Act (superseded by the 1963 Indecent Publications Tribunal).

In the 1960s and 1970s we had alarms about hippie and drug culture, long hair (especially the sexual ambiguity it generated), public nudity, and the effects of television. I was reminded this past week of Sir Jack Marshall's involvement in the attempted suppression of *The Little Red Book*, a publication that was seen as a major threat to the moral health of New Zealand in the 1970s.



It Happened In New Zealand—By Ross Gore

Evening Post (Wellington), Sept. 29, 1956

TRADITION.
① INVERCARGILL, SEPT. 20, 1956.
SCHOOL." THIS DECISION OF THE HEAD-
NEW ZEALAND TRADITIONS."
WHAT STARTS THESE QUEER CRAZES?
② — BUSINESS INTERESTS, WHOSE SOLE PURPOSE IN RAKING UP FROM OBSCURITY SUCH A DUBIOUS CHARACTER AS DAVY CROCKETT IS TO MAKE MONEY OUT OF HIM.
AMERICA HAS ALWAYS EXCELLED AT THIS TYPE OF EXPLORATION
MANY NEW ZEALANDERS WILL RECALL THE BUFFALO BILL CRAZE.
③ — POPULAR PENNY DREADFUL. THE AVERAGE CHILD HAD 3D A WEEK POCKET MONEY SO HAD TO WAIT UNTIL CHRISTMAS OR A BIRTHDAY FOR THE COVETED BUFFALO BILL OUTFIT.
IF NEW ZEALAND WAS LARGE ENOUGH TO PRODUCE FILMS, T.V. & COMICS IN PAYING QUANTITIES, PERHAPS OUR OWN HISTORIC FIGURES WOULD BE AS WELL KNOWN AS BUFFALO BILL—
④ — & DAVY CROCKETT, WHOSE ADVENTURES (LARGELY FICTIONAL) LOOK SILLY WHEN COMPARED WITH THE TRUE THRILLING STORIES FROM
⑤ — VON TEMPSKY CRAZE.
⑥ — TRADITION. ENGLAND IS TRYING TO OUST THE CROCKETT CRAZE BY REVIVING ROBIN HOOD.

In the 1980s, we have had regular panics about video games and video cassettes, Rambo (I, but not II and III for some reason), television (again), heavy metal and displays of youthful insolence. The so-called 'Queen Street riot' of 1984 seems to have sunk from public memory, even though it was seen as a major threat to the future of public peace at the time. The sudden rash of New York-styled graffiti on public walls was the subject of much alarm in 1985-86.

The central issue in most of the public panics has been sex. In the Mazengarb's 'findings', it was the premature exploration of their sexuality by young girls that caused the greatest concern; a few instances of alleged sexual promiscuity in Lower Hutt were exaggerated to become a perceived threat to all young New Zealand girls. The Mazengarb Report is a fascinating social document unprecedented in terms of its impact - there has been no other government commission that has been followed by such rapid implementation of legislation. Little more than a week after the release of the report, the government pushed through legislation that was essentially the foundation of the present Indecent Publications Tribunal.

It is primarily the American 'influence' in New Zealand public life that generates these alarms. But since the days of the Mazengarb Report the debate has become more sophisticated; the 'influence' of American popular culture in New Zealand has become tied to larger, more complex theories than the simplistic 'effects' theory that prompted panics in the past. Even in 1956, there were beginnings of a more considered appraisal as the 'It Happened in New Zealand' cartoon demonstrates (opposite page).

We now have larger theories, such as the Cultural Imperialism thesis, whereby national sovereignty and identity is seen to be in direct conflict with imported culture, especially media products from the United States. The debate is now about the production of indigenous popular culture and its vulnerability to domination by imported films, television programmes, and popular music. Other more sophisticated perspectives, such as feminist analyses of media images, have sited investigations of popular culture within a more complex political/cultural production and consumption base.

WHY AMERICAN CULTURE?

I believe it stems from our inherited high culture/popular culture dichotomy. Even though it is often a false dichotomy (how does one define opera on television, for example?) it persists as our primary method of assigning value to cultural artifacts.

High Culture	**Popular Culture**
literature/the arts/opera, etc	comics/thrillers/ television/ pop music/ Hollywood
'adult' culture	'youth' culture
educational	non-educational
cerebral	emotional
intellectual	childish
imaginative	fantastic/escapist
difficult	easy
elitist	populist
structured	informal
benign	malign/imperialistic
Source: United Kingdom/ Europe	Source: United States of America

Such a division is very simplistic, but it is the value structure we tend to apply when comparing, for example, Rambo with Rachmaninov. However, it cannot accommodate American high culture (Eugene O'Neill and Leonard Bernstein) nor account for British popular culture (Benny Hill and Tom Jones). But such a division governs cultural evaluation in New Zealand and is reflected in our television schedules (TV One - British 'quality' drama; TV Two - American 'popular' entertainment), our radio programming (the Concert Programme and the 'commercial' stations); and in our attitudes to film ('art' film versus 'mainstream' movies).

I challenge the sense of these divisions in my book *A Foreign Egg In Our Nest? American Popular Culture in New Zealand* (Victoria University Press, 1988). This book was prompted by a desire to carefully consider the increasingly negative reaction to the presence of American popular culture in New Zealand, which parallelled foreign policy disputes during 1984-86. I will not discuss this book here but suggest you read it if you are interested. My discussion focusses on the case for, and against, quotas for local content for music television; the possibility and impracticality of promoting indigenous popular culture in an age of international cultural flow; and questions whether an appreciation of American popular culture can be divorced from support for American foreign policy (I believe it can).

In my book, I do not discuss the place of moral panics as I have here today. My attention is much more on New Zealand in the 1980s. Nevertheless, the moral panics about American popular culture that have erupted on New Zealand soil provide the historical context for my current interests.

23

BROADCASTING AND THE TRANSFER OF INFLUENCE: 'GOODBYE AUNTIE BEEB, HELLO UNCLE SAM'

Brian Pauling

To a greater or lesser extent we are all media watchers. The differences between the soap addict glued to television each afternoon, the followers of *Dynasty* or *Dallas*, the news 'groupies' who guarantee the network news always gets five mentions in the week's top ten programmes, and the serious student of popular culture are probably only a matter of degree. Indeed the most substantial difference may be that 'soapies' tend to feel guilty whereas students can expiate their guilt by calling it research.

New Zealanders in particular seem to have an almost inexhaustible appetite for the media. Our small population sustains 72 radio stations, 156 newspapers, two (soon to be three) television networks (where else in the world is there a country with a population of three million that has three commercial and competing television networks?), scores of weekly and monthly newspapers and magazines and dozens of cinemas.

Much of this media appears to have a substantial influence on our society and especially on decision makers. Radio New Zealand's flagship daily news programme *Morning Report* is required listening for politicians, bureaucrats and business people, its influence wide reaching and belying its relatively small listening audience. Newspaper editorial comments are regularly quoted in Parliament. A small but growing group of investigative journalists and broadcasters can produce work that reverses court decisions and creates Royal Commissions. Some politicians fear some television interviewers. Most importantly, the inability of politicians to live comfortably with the broadcast media in this small country has led to more changes in broadcasting legislation here over the last fifty years than probably all the changes in other Western countries added together. And it is still going on!

Despite all this we have been reluctant to study it in any depth. Departments of Mass Communication are lacking in our universities. Overseas research confirms the powerful impact of the media, especially television, on young people, yet we have been slow to introduce formal media studies programmes into our schools.[1] We have yet to use the broadcast media to any major effect in education. Media vocational training, with the marked exception of print journalism, has been the prerogative of the industry, with educational institutions only recently beginning to take some responsibility for this area and not yet with any solid direction or planning. Yet there is substantial evidence to suggest that most job creation in countries such as ours over the next two decades will be in the information and communication industries.[2] This is certainly the case in the United States of America.

SOME HISTORY

In New Zealand three major factors were influential in the development of broadcasting. The first was the influence of the BBC, the second the actions of the early New Zealand broadcasters themselves, and the third the election of the first Labour Government. As in many other areas the influence of the Old Country on New Zealand's broadcasting development was substantial and the most dominant factor in the development of broadcasting in Britain was Lord Reith. Unique in the world of broadcasting this man towered like a giant over all the other personalities, both broadcasters and politicians, for over a decade. Some would say that his 'ghost' still haunts the corridors of the BBC ensuring his special brand of corporate control remains untouched and unsurpassed at least until he finally meets his match, probably sometime this year, in Prime Minister Thatcher.[3]

Following closely the British experience it is no wonder that New Zealand initially eschewed American commercialism in broadcasting, admired the principles of Reith and copied the structures he espoused.

Admiration is one thing; the ability to be able to satisfactorily recreate the structures is another. With limited resources of money and equipment, a smaller potential listening audience and a country of exceptionally rugged terrain with its pockets of population spread widely apart, New Zealand broadcasting could only poorly copy that which it admired so much. Further it lacked a Reith to mould and hold the structure. Good men all were the first directors of Broadcasting in New Zealand but who recalls them now? In fact New Zealand's only real legend in broadcasting came from outside the formal broadcasting structure and from the less secure, less officially acceptable, but overwhelmingly more popular private station set up. Colin Scrimgeour (Uncle Scrim to most of his listeners) drew the largest audiences for he was one of the few people to fully understand the power of the new medium and one of the few with talent to exploit it. It was his vision and actions that diverted New Zealand from pure BBC style broadcasting by introducing the unique model of a public broadcasting service that was commercial. Whilst one half of the service was continuing to emulate the BBC the remaining half, despite considerable restriction, began to reflect the commercial power of broadcasting and give New Zealanders a taste of the broadcasting marketplace. Commercial state radio, a story in itself, became the most popular entertainment in the country.[4]

Finally the first Labour government recognised the power of broadcasting as a persuasive medium. Michael Joseph Savage saw the value of placing broadcasting within the orbit of the public service. He made himself the first Minister of Broadcasting and is recorded as saying, 'It's a grand thing to have a hand on radio these days'. Broadcasting was firmly in the hands of politicians and it was to remain there for many years.[5]

Eventual public dissatisfaction with the Government's control of broadcasting became most apparent when in 1967 a pirate radio station went on air, broadcasting to Auckland from outside New Zealand's territorial limits. At first the Government tried to put an end to these private activities. Subsequent public support for the 'pirates' was such that the Government

282

not only turned a blind, but also a benevolent eye. Eventually the activities of private radio broadcasters were legitimised and the influence of the BBC began to wane.[6]

Faced with competition from private radio, a diminishing supply of resources from a Government reluctant to increase the broadcasting licence fee, and a more sophisticated listening audience, ratings became important for the first time. Private broadcasters learned their craft quickly and some replaced public stations in competing markets as the preferred stations.[7] Television, also faced with a Government directive to function as two state owned but competitive commercial channels, quickly picked up media marketing expertise.[8] Public broadcasting turned to the most sophisticated media market in the world, the United States of America, for help. A steady stream of experts crossed the Pacific in both directions. Auntie Beeb was being replaced by Uncle Sam. Loyalty to the old relationship dies slowly and still exists in residual form. But so well has public broadcasting learned its lessons that it now has the most sophisticated research, marketing and programming tools that modern technology can supply, and is recognised as one of the most successful commercial broadcasting organisations in the world. The influence of American broadcasting, whilst not yet complete, is now dominant.

TRAINING

The model of broadcasting training in New Zealand was also inherited from the United Kingdom. Public service broadcasting has always been its own training agency. The BBC still has large training units in both radio and television. Here, most broadcasters are trained on the job and in-house training has been the norm.

Public service broadcasting organisations not only trained for themselves but also for outside organisations. Many private broadcasters owe their skills to initial training within the BCNZ or one of its variants.

With the total monopoly on broadcasting given to the BBC and New Zealand state broadcasting for so many years there was no demand for independent training in either New Zealand or the United Kingdom.[9] Universities, polytechnics and schools provided broadcasting with the 'cadet', a well rounded recruit with sound basic education, but no broadcasting skills, waiting to be put into the corporation or service mould. Skills were attained according to the organisation's needs and careers were based around a lifetime service to the one employer. It was a vocational programme that trained solely in the application of media craft skills that were relevant for the time. On the whole it did not encourage alternative developments and eschewed the framework of over-arching issues that place broadcasting in its social, political, economic and historical context. This short-changed the student, the industry and, in the end, society.

Unlike the apprenticeship role the polytechnic system plays for many industries or the training the universities supply to many professions, broadcasting was a 'closed shop'. This was not so in America. The deregulated market and the rapid growth of decentralised broadcasting organisations allowed for the development of university, community college, and school-based broadcasting training. The universities, especially, encouraged very broad-based learning and produced broadcasters not only with craft skills but also business and marketing skills, an understanding of the ethics and politics of broadcasting and a knowledge of communication theory.

The programme at Christchurch Polytechnic has been a pioneering one. In cooperation with the industry we have developed a substantial vocational training programme in the broadcasting media. The Polytechnic is committed to providing a media studies centre that reflects not only the skills of this complex industry but also its power and its responsibilities.[10] The nation that takes the industry in all of its facets most seriously, that allows it to permeate every aspect of society and that demonstrates the full spectrum of broadcasting uses and abuses is undoubtedly the United States of America. This led, quite naturally, to my desire to study the American experience via a Fulbright grant.

SOME HIGHLIGHTS OF THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

In the United States over 350 universities and close to 200 community colleges offer courses in broadcasting. There are also numerous private organisations that offer training in the field. The sheer size and variety of educational opportunities is at first bewildering to someone coming from a small country like New Zealand. Allowing for population differences this means that comparatively New Zealand should have 7½ centres for such training. But given our options one could perhaps surmise the relative value each nation places on the role of the broadcast media in society.

Perceptions of learning are also vastly different. American institutions have to compete with similar institutions by placing advertisements on television selling the college and its courses. Finance is uncertain and there is no security of tenure for many staff; it has to be earned or sometimes fought for. Administrations can arbitrarily increase quotas and teachers are thereby forced into roles as salespeople for the college to protect their own jobs. Shades of polytechnics in New Zealand in the near future? There is little interaction between tertiary institutions and the broadcast industry. The efforts that we go to in polytechnics in New Zealand to maintain close relationships with industry, and the substantial efforts that go into helping graduating students to get career placements do not occur widely in the United States but there are some exceptions. The University of Southern California has close ties to the film industry. The very substantial national lobbying agency, the Broadcast Education Association (B.E.A.), has substantial relations with the major networks and the National Association of Broadcasters. Many universities and colleges have industry relationships through running public and sometimes commercial radio and television stations in conjunction with their programmes. But students are left to their own devices to struggle into their first jobs. For most graduates in radio and television programmes, first jobs are found on the thousands of small stations that spread over middle America. It is not until much later that the major networks show an interest in them. Many graduates in broadcasting degree programmes do not end up with careers in broadcasting. For some it is treated very much as a general education programme. For others it is the next alternative after failing to gain a place in the higher professional programmes with limited entry such as law, medicine and business studies. This once again contrasts markedly with the very career oriented mind set of journalism and broadcasting students in New Zealand.

Research universities such as Northwestern University, at Evanston, Illinois offer opportunities for advanced study not available in New Zealand. Evanston offers a Master's and a Ph.D programme which has international recognition. There are no programmes in New Zealand universities that offer such scope for media research. Evanston has over 50 Masters' students and 25 doctoral candidates in its postgraduate programme.[11]

All first level broadcasting programmes at universities are three year courses and at community colleges, two year courses. One of the advantages of the length of these courses is continuity for new people enter the programme whilst experienced people are still in it. Such continuity allows for peer group learning and this means that professional standards can be developed and maintained in all practical broadcasting. It is here that both the similarity and the difference between New Zealand programmes and the best in the United States are most marked.

Practical experience in the programme means that students must broadcast. Christchurch has been running a temporary radio station for each course since 1984. Each course has real-time broadcasting experience. The best programmes in the United States also have real-time experience. However, the length of their programmes and the continuity between raw recruit and mature student means that they can run fulltime radio and television stations. This ensures not only sound practical training for the students but also continuous alternative programmes in each medium for the general public.

The Department of Broadcasting, University of Florida in Gainesville offers three year undergraduate degrees in broadcast journalism, radio and television, and a Master's programme in broadcasting. The Department has a purpose built centre that contains full teaching facilities, three radio stations and a television station. The students, under the supervision of a small fulltime staff of broadcasters, are responsible for the continuous operation of these stations. The radio stations consist of a National Public Radio Station affiliated to the NPR network and sustained by grants, donations and endowments, an AM commercial station with a substantial talk format and an FM commercial station with a music format. Thus, students gain a full spectrum of radio experience. Professional broadcast standards are maintained because second and third year students have gained the necessary skills whilst beginning students are gradually introduced to real-time broadcasting as their skills develop. The television station is affiliated to a national network. The daily major news bulletin is a thirty minute full scale production every bit as professional as networked news. The students, under supervision, are responsible for every facet of the programme. They seek and gather the news, film and edit it, front it, produce it and crew it. A magnificent feat for broadcast journalism trainees and sustained for 260 days of the year![12]

The programme at Brigham Young University whilst different is equally impressive. This university makes a genuine attempt to keep track of its graduates and has an enviable record of job placement in the broadcasting industry and is probably the most successful American university in this regard. Once again the programme is backed up by real-time television and radio. In this, Brigham Young has some of the finest equipment in use in student training. Their outside broadcast van is a state-of-the-art facility allowing six independent production points from within the van and twelve camera operation. That a university broadcast facility should have an O/B unit of this complexity strikingly indicates the level of sophistication in broadcasting training in the United States.[13]

The relationships between community colleges, two year colleges, polytechnics and universities are very complex. It is probably unjust to compare our technical institute system with the American two-year and community colleges. However, community colleges have more resources overall than our polytechnics and many are not as large. Lane Community College is in Eugene, Oregon. Eugene is about the size of Hamilton. Its community college has a full radio station, a cable television station and a college newspaper. Their high-band television facility has broadcast capability, special effects generators, computer assisted editing and a three-camera studio all dedicated solely to student use, i.e, it is a separate facility from the cable channel. The cable channel distributes distance learning programmes to the region as well as student broadcasts. The radio station is operated by students under the supervision of a small professional staff. Lane has a total of 12,000 fulltime and part-time students.[14]

DISTANCE LEARNING

The Americans lead the world in the development of distance learning and in the use of new technology to deliver learning opportunities. The United States experience should convince us of both the educational and economic viability of using new technology to offer distance and open learning programmes in New Zealand.

The United States uses technology from the cradle to the grave in offering learning and training. From 'Kidsnet', a national database on children's film and television programmes, through to the 'Elderhostel', an over-sixties university credit programme.[15]

In the Miami-Dade County school system there is a five day a week after school programme that addresses the homework needs of school children through all grades. It lasts for four hours and includes a phone-in session when children can ask specific questions of a rostered group of teachers.[16]

The 'Learning Link', a division of the Educational Broadcasting Corporation, offers a wide variety of programmes for schools. Each school subscribes to the link and is entitled to record off-air as broadcast the Learning Link programmes and reproduce them for a set period. Programmes are set for transmission during down-time on the PBS network, usually from 1.00am to 6.00am each morning. With membership of the Link automatic access is given to the 'Educators Information Network', an interactive computer network that enables schools to have exclusive access to broadcast schedules and content well in advance of broadcast so that teaching programmes can be arranged.[17]

ITFN – Instructional Television Fixed Network, links institutions with common interests so that they can share teaching resources. Schools and colleges are linked to each other and can transmit televised programmes from one site to the rest of the network and interact with each other.[18]

The major public radio and television networks offer a wide range of subjects for university credits based on series such as the BBC's *The English Language*, and PBS's *The Africans*. Incidentally, both programmes were broadcast as straight television, highlighting the role of television as an educative as well as educational medium; a subtle but important distinction that seems to have eluded our own television executives and decision-makers.

The 'Electronic University Network' is a San Francisco based organisation which links thousands of people, disadvantaged by distance, into a network of learning that offers study for degree and diploma credits at many of the major universities. Using personal computers and telephone modems the system links together the students and their respective university tutors in an interactive network that allows students to study in their own space, at their own time, and also communicate with other students doing the same courses even although separated by thousands of miles.[19]

But perhaps the most innovative programme was a new service from the PBS (Public Broadcasting Service) called the National Narrowcast Service. The NNS is a programme designed to deliver a wide selection of high qualiity video-based training programmes at low cost to any workplace or teaching establishment in the country. The NNS offers subscribers five basic tracks of programming and five premium services, all delivered directly using satellite, microwave, and other state-of-the-art telecommunication technologies.[20]

The basic tracks offer courses designed for a range of occupations from top management to data processors and serving, literally, every level of employee. Each track gives five to ten hours of programming each month. The tracks are: Management and Supervision, Sales and Marketing, Computer Literacy and Applications, Effective Communications, Technical Skills. The so-called premium tracks offer teleconferencing, college credit courses and advanced professional courses in law, business, and public sector administration.

New technology holds the key to thousands of New Zealanders having access to university and polytechnic learning and training. Using the facilities currently coming on stream, a more efficient and cost effective method of giving adults access to learning than the current option of building more bricks and mortar institutions could be constructed.

The recent developments at Massey University and the current pilot exercise by the Department of Education's working party on open learning and new technology delivery options may give strong leads as to developments in this field.

CHANGES IN BROADCASTING

Broadcasting in New Zealand is shedding the cloak of its history and, like many other aspects of our society, turning its back on tradition and dependence. The changes are rapid. The application of free market policies, the abolition of the BCNZ, the deregulation of the industry and the replacement of the Broadcasting Tribunal with a Commission, all suggest that Europe is no longer relevant either as a mentor or a model for New Zealand Broadcasting. Indeed, with the almost universal shift to the 'right' in western democracies, evidence points to the BBC becoming a suitable case for similar treatment.

Our broadcasting organisations are becoming market driven. The most sophisticated other example of such a market is the United States. It follows, therefore, that the design of media training in New Zealand will gain more from American models than from European ones. There is a wealth of source material from the vast resource base of the B.E.A, to the plethora of curriculum options in over 500 teaching institutions. If deregulation of the airwaves here follows the American pattern at all closely there will be a rapid development of alternative broadcasting opportunities and educational institutions should be ready to participate. Furthermore, the industry will not be able to totally fund its own training and will look for complementary relationships with training organisations.

The American experience suggests that changes to the Christchurch programme could include the development of full radio and television broadcast facilities; an increased length of programme, to at least a two year fulltime course; the establishment of an overlap so that mature students would operate alongside newly recruited students; the development of media outlets as alternative programme opportunities for the region. One major strength of New Zealand programming that is not strong in the United States and which we would wish to keep is our close relationship, indeed partnership, with the broadcasting industry.

However, the shift to the 'right' is also being felt in education. With more autonomy being sought and given to polytechnics, with the clear political message that at least some educational areas will need to become income earning, and with the late realisation that job opportunities do exist within the communications industries, competition between agencies may remove that industry partnership. It has been a feature of New Zealand's vocational training to match supply with demand. The centralised control of the Department of Education attempts to maintain a 'rational' distribution of training opportunities.

With the Department's control eased and a more market environment New Zealand may follow the American model and establish an 'open season' with polytechnics and universities competing both for students and programmes. Instead of an almost 100 percent success with student job placement there could be scores of competing programmes producing an oversupply of talent competing against each other for a limited number of positions. The Christchurch Polytechnic has made a number of attempts since 1984 to enter into cooperative relationships with other agencies with little success, everyone preferring to 'do their own thing'. A nation of 3.2 million people may not be able to afford up to 7½ different broadcasting training courses. The vast variety of American programmes produces little cooperation and much parochialism. Rationality is imposed by outside moderating agencies often industry influenced and showing little support for or interest in individual teaching agencies.[21] Training itself becomes market driven.

However, the high capital cost of investment in broadcast training facilities may require some form of discipline. The relative intimacy of the industry in a small market such as New Zealand may give it the strength to impose conditions on training agencies particularly in return for some sharing of the cost of training. The need for industry to share these costs is more obvious here than in the United States where the relative wealth of educational agencies is much higher. The success of the Christchurch programme would not have been possible without the considerable generosity of the New Zealand broadcasting industry, both public and private.

The vision of the BBC with its gentle environment, decisions being made at leisure in clubs and restaurants over long lunches by superb broadcasters still holding to Lord Reith's dictum of 'unencumbered, unembarrassed and unconditional responsibility' and using the Beeb's tremendous resources to produce 'quality' broadcasting may be fantasy rather than fact.[22] However, it does provide a measure of how far the transfer of influence has moved.

The cut and thrust of the market with ratings reigning supreme, broadcasting organisations being bought and sold like any other company, broadcasters subject to redundancy, dismissal and replacement at management's whim, the most sophisticated and expensive production resources and techniques being found in commercials rather than programmes and the audience measured in terms of the dollar is definitely more a description of New York or Los Angeles than London. At this very time it sounds like Auckland and Wellington too.

Goodbye Auntie Beeb, hello Uncle Sam!

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1 Recent examples of such research from both Britain and the USA include: N. Postman, *Amusing Ourselves to Death*, Viking, New York, 1985 and P. Lewis, C. Pearlman, *Media and Power*, Camden Press, London, 1986.

2 For example, see T. Stonier, *The Wealth of Information: A Profile of the Post-industrial Society*, Thames Methuen, London, 1983.

3 T. Burns, *The BBC: Public Institution and Private World*, Macmillan, London, 1977.

4 For two contrasting accounts see: L. Edwards, *Scrim, Radio Rebel in Retrospect*, Hodder & Stoughton, Auckland, 1971 and A.F. O'Donoghue, *The Rise and Fall of Broadcasting in New Zealand*, The Author, Auckland, 1946.

5 A.F. O'Donoghue, ibid, p.21

6 A. Blackburn, *The Shoestring Pirates, Radio Hauraki*, Hodder & Stoughton, Auckland, 1974.

7 In Christchurch in the early 1970s Radio Avon reached an all-time peak with a rating of over 50 percent of the possible audience.

8 Some broadcasters look back fondly to the period when the newly created and rather brash TV2, or (for a while) South Pacific Television, openly vied for market share with an older, more sedate, TV1.

9 In the United Kingdom some broadcasting training occurs within the framework of broader media studies courses, e.g., The London College of Printing. A specific broadcasting training school, The London School of

Broadcasting, set up by independent radio collapsed in 1986 after a very short life.

10 In 1988 the Centre offers: Four 12 week block courses in pre-entry radio broadcasting training; two 12 week block courses in pre-entry television broadcasting training; one 22 week broadcasting journalism course; four 'Links' courses, one week full time introductory courses for school leavers, on career options in broadcasting; on-going training courses for volunteers operating 'Plains FM' access radio station; 200 hours of community courses on media understanding.

11 Dr Lawrence Lichty, Department of Radio, Television and Film, School of Speech, Northwestern University, Evanston, IL 60201.

12 Dr G Paul Smeyak, Chair, Department of Broadcasting, University of Florida, 2090 Weimer Hall, Gainesville, FL 32611.

13 Professor Owen Rich, Department of Communication, E-509 Harris Fine Arts Centre, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT 84601.

14 Professor Michael Hopkinson, Mass Communications Department, Lane Community College, 4000 E.30th Ave, Eugene, OR 97405.

15 Kidsnet, a computerised clearinghouse for children's radio and television, P.O. Box 65089, Washington, D.C. 20035.

16 Dade County Public Schools, 1450 N.E. 2nd Avenue, Miami, FL 33132.

17 The Learning Link, Educational Broadcasting Corporation, 356 West 58th Street, New York, N.Y. 10019.

18 The Califonia Central Valley Microwave Network, California State University, Fresno, CA 93740.

19 The Electronic University Network, 505 Beach Street, San Francisco, CA 94133.

20 The National Narrowcast Service, Public Broadcasting Service, 1320 Braddock Place, Alexandria, VA 22314.

21 A national body validates teaching programmes in journalism and schools are assessed regularly. The national organisation has no direct control over curriculum but it does have significant influence.

22 Lord Reith as quoted in E.G. Wedell, *Broadcasting and Public Policy*, Michael Joseph, London, 1968.

24

AMERICAN INFLUENCES ON MUSEUM EDUCATION

Connie Hall

It was so long ago that our first batch of Fulbrighters left for the United States that it is interesting to look back at the world we were leaving. The rate of exchange was then four United States dollars to the New Zealand pound, or 50 cents New Zealand to one United States dollar. It was the McCarthy era when getting a visa was the most difficult of exercises. After the most rigorous physical, mental and social investigation we swore on the Bible, before a photograph of the United States President and the United States flag, that we personally would not attempt to overthrow the government of the United States by force. I am proud to say that this promise is one I have scrupulously kept. Although rationing was over in New Zealand there were still many shortages of consumer goods (from trucks to nylon stockings) but as the shortage in shipping prevented export of non-essential goods, we enjoyed bountiful and cheap supplies of crayfish, costing as little as two cents each (an ample meal for a person), while, in season, a meal of whitebait fritters cost only 20 cents. Overseas travel was by sea, impossible during the war years and still very difficult after the war, due to shipping shortages. It was nearly ten years since people had travelled freely overseas.

Museum education services in New Zealand had been operating since 1942 under the Department of Education; employing a total of eight teachers in the four main museums. Their orientation was towards the United

States, partly because British museums and their services were still disrupted by the war, but mainly because of American initiative, when the Carnegie Corporation of New York had funded experiments in museum display and educational services in New Zealand some 10-15 years earlier. These experiments, which were monitored by NZCER, set the basic guidelines for museum educational services for the following decades. So when the Fulbright scheme was launched in 1949, our museums were well supplied with a range of important publications on educational services in the United States and they had experimented with a wide range of activities for adults and children in both formal and informal groups, many of which had evolved in America. This interest was also stimulated by the arrival of two scientific expeditions from the American Munited states of americacaeum of Natural History for the purpose of choosing and collecting materials for two large diorama displays of New Zealand bird life for their Whitney Bird Hall in New York. The leader of these expeditions, Dr Robert Cushman Murphy, made many friends among munited states of americacaeum people and formed a longlasting link between the American Museum of Natural History and munited states of americacaeums here.

So it was with the highest expectations that I left New Zealand to work for a year in the education department of the American Museum of Natural History with whom I had corresponded during the war. The reality was indeed a shock. From Otago Museum where a limited number of staff performed all functions to another world where a huge institution had been geared, since its inception, to public education at all levels from pre-school to post-graduate level. Map in hand, for a week I found my way round its 48 exhibition halls on four floors of a building covering four city blocks. The sheer numbers of visiting children were a problem in logistics. My first assignment, to escort 200 children, teachers and parents from the auditorium down the lift, through a succession of halls, to the toilets and then to the children's cafeteria where their own lunches collected earlier were restored to them, within ten minutes of leaving the auditorium made me think how a well trained sheep dog would have been. The staff numbered 600 – from two whose duties were to scrape the chewing gum from the marble floors to many scientists of world renown such as Margaret Mead. The museum and its resources were on such a vast and expensive scale; the exhibitions technically far beyond the resources of our small museums and the teaching techniques geared to the education of children arriving daily in their hundreds, who had waited upwards of a year for their appointment and unable to expect a return engagement for two years. The problems of the American Museum of Natural History were quite unlike those in our smaller, intimate museums. An amended programme of study was needed before the sheer magnificence and complexity of that environment overwhelmed me.

The outcomes from my 14 months in New York were largely unexpected. As a young teacher, I had expected to return with an enlarged repertoire of techniques for interpreting museum collections and had been dismayed to find that this would not be so. There was great benefit in the range of personal contacts made in the United States and in an opportunity to join a small committee on children's activities in museums under the aegis of UNESCO, the forerunner of the Committee for Educational and Cultural Action (CECA). There were then only five of us, two from the United States, one from the United Kingdom, one from France and one from New Zealand. On my return this organisation enabled me to keep in touch with developments in other countries as well as contribute New Zealand material for UNESCO publications on museum education. They were pioneering years in New Zealand as in many other countries, and such contacts and subsequent visitors to New Zealand helped to mitigate the sense of isolation we felt.

But the Fulbright experience raised questions which struck at the heart of what we were doing and permanently challenged my thinking. If a child could visit a museum only once in two years with their class and teacher for a few hours, what was the purpose of the visit? What was the most valuable thing we could accomplish for them in that time?

What was the educational potential of museums and their artefacts and how could this potential be released? A previous speaker at this seminar spoke of the sources of knowledge. It has been said that the library and the museum together constitute the two halves of man's memory of the past, one holding the written record, and the other the material evidence from which his interpretations have been made. Yet our education system concentrates largely on only the written record, teaching our children reading and library skills while largely ignoring the need for skills to be taught to utilise the material in museums. Indeed, many historians write comprehensive works from library material alone, despite the collections of historical artefacts available for study. The International Council of Museums (ICOM) defines museum artefacts as material evidence, conserved for public education and enjoyment. But evidence of what? The multiplicity of collections held by museums of all kinds can finally be grouped under two headings only: those used by man to interpret the universe around him and those which reveal man to himself.

A museum collection can be a medium of powerful personal appeal stimulating to both emotion and intellect but it is very difficult to use because the items in its collections have been removed from their historical context and disassociated from the people who made and used them. The problem of the museum educator is to restore a sense of that setting and to link it to the experience of the viewer so that it is more closely understood. We also know that if this can be done effectively it leads through that to some understanding of the people who made and used these things and generates feelings of identification with them. These possessions of people, separated by time and space, enable us to appreciate the achievements of others and enhance our respect for their cultures. It is a medium readily available, and refinement of its use for such communication is sorely needed.

25

AMERICA'S INFLUENCE UPON NEW ZEALAND

William Tramposch

Connie Hall has explained well the early associations between United States and New Zealand museum education efforts. These emanated from the Carnegie and Fulbright programmes. This paper will discuss an important exchange which occurred in 1986 under the auspices of the Fulbright programme. It is still too early to ascertain what the effects of this exchange have been upon museum education services in New Zealand, so the intent of the following piece is to outline the recommendations made during my visit in 1986.

INTRODUCTION

It has been popularly promoted of late that 'Kiwis love a challenge', especially if it is a fair one. This paper is about a challenge I received and another that I gave back in return during my Fulbright visit in 1986. But first – by way of introduction – I should like to tell you how this acquaintance with New Zealand began for me.

When I applied for my grant in 1985, I had been at Colonial Williamsburg for seven years. It quite literally was time for a sabbatical. Senator Fulbright's programme and New Zealand attracted me for several reasons. First, I wanted to be turned around in my thinking about museum education. Williamsburg is America's oldest and largest outdoor history museum, and I desired to experience something quite different. What better place to be turned around than in New Zealand, where the birds fly north for the winter and water spins in a contrary direction down the drain.

Secondly, the Fulbright ethic itself attracted me. Senator Fulbright is fond of remarking that forty years of this programme has cost considerably less than one nuclear powered submarine. It is an apt analogy, and it alone would have compelled me to apply. What more propitious place to visit than New Zealand, a nuclear free mentor to nations worldwide.

Thirdly, and more practically, the Fulbright programme attracted me because it offered one of the only awards in my field. That year it advertised two scholarships. The other was to Peru, and the choice was quite clear to me. Why there are so few Fulbrights available in museology is a mystery to me (and it is a situation which we on the International Council of Museums board are attempting to alleviate), for museums have grown meteorically over the past twenty years. In fact, the American Association of Museums has estimated that in the 1960s a new museum was opening in our country every three and a half days. Of course, in New Zealand the numbers are smaller, but the rate of growth is every bit as striking. This growth is obviously the result of public need, and many of us in the museum field look forward to the day when more scholarships in this important work are offered.

This last thought delivers me to my point: the challenge. During my first week in New Zealand, I had the great pleasure of meeting Dr Bill Renwick, then Director-General of Education. Part of the reason for my being here was to observe and make recommendations about museum education services, and Dr Renwick oversaw the department charged with the service.

As we discussed this country's museums and the education progammes therein, I expressed surprise and concern that so little was being done and that museum education seemed to apply only to school groups, the implication being that education in these institutions was of no concern to adults. Patient with my criticisms, Dr Renwick issued then this challenge: 'Bill, if you can suggest how we can enhance museum education in New Zealand without it costing us any money, I shall be happy to consider your recommendations'. Although Dr Renwick may not recall this challenge, I took it quite seriously, so what might have been offered as a humorous aside became a preoccupation of mine during the next six months as I lectured, facilitated discussion, thought and wrote. But, chiefly, I observed the service, and here is what I noticed.

1 Although the Museum Education Service was among the best in the world when conceived, it had become terribly obsolete and oblivious to current trends and growth in museums and museum education worldwide.

2 Consequently, I found very few education officers in museums, and the ones I did find were overworked. Of course, there were some who were obviously in the wrong job, but most of the officers impressed me with their drive and creativity. But, where were the rest of the education officers? Surely there must be more given the great need that these important educational institutions have to reach and influence their public?

3 Museum education officers, I found, worked school hours and not museum hours! The story was getting curiouser and curiouser. Why, I asked, did professional educators in museums continue as if they worked in a school? This fact disputed the reality that education in museums is quite different from education in a formal setting. What influence did this schedule have upon dynamics within the museum? I soon found out.

4 As mentioned, I discovered that museum education here meant only programmes for children. This fact challenged demographics, for in any industrialised nation the age of people is increasing. This suggests clearly that adult education is and has been an increasing need within all educational institutions. Elderhostel is a fine example of this point. Fifteen years ago hardly anyone had heard of this programme for senior citizens worldwide. Today, more than 600,000 catalogues are mailed annually. But, such tendencies were not reflected in museum education programmes in New Zealand.

5 Perhaps as a result of their concentration on school groups and their different schedule, I noticed that museum education services were undervalued by directors of museums. One indication of this was in

the fact that during my entire six month stay only one director took the time to participate in an education workshop which I ran. This implied to me that the responsibility of education within the museum was not within the director's brief.

As I reflect on this condition, I am reminded of two telling instances. First, one museum education officer I met had been appointed to his post through the post. He had not been interviewed by anyone, certainly not the museum director. Secondly, I recall the museum director who would not issue a museum education officer a key on the grounds that he was not actually a member of the staff.

6 Even more distressing than the four observations above was that I found museum education officers to be undervalued by the Department of Education itself. But I must add that this neglect was not intentional. One example of this point is found in the severe lack of attention that the Department's 'Liaison Officer' gives to museum education – again, not intentionally. This individual (untrained in museum work) also had numerous other responsibilities in his job description and consequently could not even find the time to attend the major conference of the year for museum education officers.

Something had to be done to elevate (nay, rehabilitate) the museum education programmes in New Zealand. How could such a respectable programme fall into such an embarrassing state. This programme was once held-up as an example worldwide. How could enhancements be made at no cost? Was Dr Renwick's challenge a fair one? I did not even ask. So fascinated was I with the problem that I only considered solutions.

RECOMMENDATIONS

At the end of six months, I submitted my report to Mr Arch Gilchrist of the Department of Education. By now, Dr Renwick was abroad on a study grant of his own. A copy of my report is available through NZCER or the NZ-US Educational Foundation. It recommends:

1 That museum educators should work museum hours for reasons stated above.

2 That they should become more actively involved in museum affairs (exhibit design, adult programmes, etc.) on the grounds that museum education is everybody's responsibility in the museum, especially of the museum education specialist!

3 That the Department of Education appoint a Liaison Officer with sole responsibility for museum education officers. Thus, an important link would be made between the nation's hundreds of museums and the central department charged with the responsibility for education. This Liasion Officer would need to be qualified to assume this position. That is, he or she would need to know the special nature of education in museums through both experience and study.

4 This Liaison Officer would be charged with the responsibility of facilitating planning for the service. This would be done in association with the Museum Education Association of New Zealand (MEANZ).

5 That museum education services address themselves to the need to cater to adult learners who far outnumber children.

These recommendations, my challenge back to the Department of Education, have received some attention I assume. I have received a letter acknowledging their receipt. I realise that these suggestions will cost some money to implement, but not much. The primary intent is to plan and coordinate the service through the Liaison Officer and the museum community.

Almost as much as the challenge itself, however, I enjoy the suspense of waiting for a result. Recently, a decision was made to have education officers work museum hours. Whether or not this decision emanated from an interest in enhancing the service or in getting rid of the responsibility for it remains to be seen. The suspense builds. In this user pays environment which is plaguing the country I have grown skeptical (and a bit cynical) of the government's support of education in general. The investment aspects of education are underestimated, especially in museum education. This neglect will haunt us in the United States in the future (for my country tends to underestimate the value of it also but we have fewer government operated museums). I am often reminded of Benjamin Franklin's statement: 'The only thing more expensive than education is ignorance'. This unintentional neglect will breed an ignorance of the world and its artifactual heritage and cultural inheritances.

But why end on such a dire note? The Fulbright was anything but depressing. It was uplifting and reaffirming. I felt that throughout this country people listened to ideas and were always eager to discuss their views. The museum education work was just a small and less rewarding aspect of my being here. A much larger part of my work had to do with proposing the development of a university-based museum studies programme at Massey University. This programme has received both the support of government and the university. It will be funded for three years by government and then the university (if a demand continues) will support it. This is very stimulating news and it will be a major contribution to the training of museum professionals in the future. I am very pleased to have had some small part in its development.

CONCLUSION

The Fulbright experience in New Zealand was remarkable because of the insights I gained into another culture and – through them – the insights I gained into my own country. Whether or not my visit has had any influence upon museum education here remains to be seen. Regardless, the influence that New Zealand has had upon me has been significant and far greater than any I could have upon it. The Fulbright in 1986 changed me in at least three ways:

1. It enabled me to observe education in museums in a very different light, for aside from the work cited above I had the opportunity to watch museum education taking place in this country's museums. This strengthened immeasurably my belief in the power museums have to make us more cultured and sensitive people. I saw, for example, *Te Maori!*

2. It reminded me of an arrogance that is bred from provincialism and the need one has to leave home periodically in order to see home more clearly.

3 And, finally, it 'turned' me around. With this thought I'll close with the words of another Fulbrighter far more eloquent than I:

> That's why I came to New Zealand, to be dislocated, cracked open, and forced out of my shell of preconceptions about how the world spins. That's why I applied for a Fulbright. I wanted to see again.
>
> Sonia Gernes, 1986[1]

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[1] In Joan Druett, *Fulbright in New Zealand*, Wellington: New Zealand-United States Educational Foundation, 1988, p.93.

26

TAR, MUSEUMS AND EDUCATION

John Yaldwyn

I am not an educationalist in the traditional meaning of the word. I am a marine biologist. I do, however, work for a museum and all the work of museums in the widest sense, has to do with educating people.

I would like to talk about aspects of museum education that grew out of the research and scholarship that goes on in many of the larger museums. I am going to talk about things which happened in Southern California and the influence of tar on museums. Or should I say 'tarpits' on museums? I would first like to read to you the International Council of Museums' (ICOM's) definition of a museum because this is a way of explaining the international recognition that the museum is, in all its aspects, a major educational institution. The passage was written in 1974. I say that immediately because of the last few words in the passage:

> A museum is a non profit-making, permanent institution for the service of society and its development, and open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits for purposes of study, education and enjoyment, material evidence of man and his environment.

It never occurred to me when I first looked at that passage how odd that last phrase would come to sound. Times have changed.

In 1960 I went to the University of Southern California. I found when I subsequently travelled around America that few Americans – students, scholars or anyone else – even knew of the University of Southern California in Los Angeles. They would say 'Oh, you went to UCLA', which is the

University of California in Los Angeles. They would not know that there was another huge university called the University of Southern California, right in the middle of the city. It is a private university and nothing to do with the University of California system. You do not have to explain this quite so often to New Zealanders because you can buy University of Southern California sweatshirts in shops all over the country.

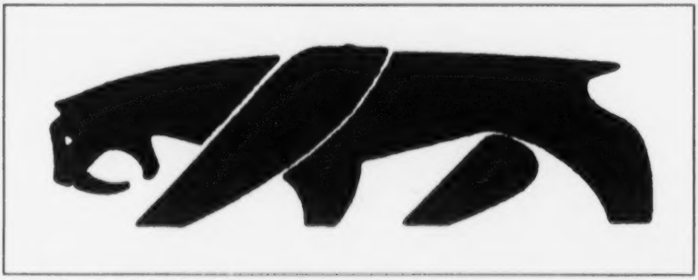
In 1960 I went to what was called the Allan Hancock Foundation. This was an interesting institution. Was it a museum? And is it now a museum under the ICOM definition? It is a research institute on the campus of the University of Southern California. It had collections, it had a massive research library which it had bought from a university somewhere in the eastern part of the United States which had lost its money. It had displays and it did a lot of research. But there were some problems in defining this place as a museum. It was built by a millionaire as a memorial to himself and his family, and I shall say a little bit more about him later because he's the one that links up with the tar. The problems were that, although it contained exhibits from this man's family home, his mother's piano room and that sort of thing, these exhibits were not actually available and open to the public. To this day I haven't been into them although I have visited this institution many times since 1960. In other words it was a strange institution, heavily involved in good research, with a magnificent library and wonderful collections, but with some displays that were available only to people who knew Allan Hancock himself.

The Allan Hancock Foundation was housed in a grey four-storey building which had on its concrete sides, engravings of huge sabre tooth tigers and mammoths and great horses and giant wolves of the sort which had been trapped in the tarpits on the other side of Los Angeles. So this rare museum was already labelled, even in 1960, and had been for the number of years since it had been built, with the animals that are going to form a bit of this story about museums. Across the avenue from the back of the Allan Hancock Foundation, there was a proper museum, the Los Angeles County Museum. This was a big museum but not particularly well-known in the sixties.

The link with the tarpits is that Allan Hancock's family had been ranching in the Los Angeles area ever since it was a few adobe huts and, in the middle of their fairly large ranch, there were funny pools with a shallow layer of water on the surface and black sticky material underneath in which their longhorn cattle used to get stuck and die. At that time nobody knew what to do with the black material which did not seem to be particularly useful. But then, last century, San Francisco, just a little way north, found it needed a lot of wooden blocks to allow its very steep streets to take traffic. They found a wonderful substance for sticking these wooden blocks to the road. It was the asphalt in Allan Hancock's tarpits. Allan Hancock mined this material and that started the multi-million dollar family fortune that built things like the Allan Hancock Foundation.

The bases of the tarpits were found to contain great mountains of bones of Pleistocene mammals that had fallen into the tar in huge numbers. Many of these were excavated and had been put into the basement of the Los Angeles County Museum. That was the situation when I was at the Allan Hancock Foundation. In 1986, I revisited the Allan Hancock Foundation at Los Angeles, just for a short while, and what tremendous changes had occurred over the last quarter of a century. Now the Allan Hancock Foundation had realised that it wasn't a museum and was busy passing its great research collection across the road to the Los Angeles County Museum. And the Los Angeles County Museum itself had become a great natural history museum, one of the big ones of the western United States. Amongst other things, it had a great new gallery dealing with the Olympic Games, because they had been held in Los Angeles. It was a wonderful gallery full not only of medals and flags and such things, but with lots of displays about how men and women run and jump and behave and how the human body reacts to sports of all sorts.

The Allan Hancock Foundation, in getting rid of its collections, had become really what it had more or less set out to be right from the beginning, that is, an environmental and ecological research institution on the campus of the University of Southern California. It was doing very well and it was getting grants and meeting its overheads. The tarpits themselves, which had been just a reserve left by Allan Hancock to the county, had now developed into a big museum in their own right, the George C. Page Museum of La Brea Discoveries, which was part of the Los Angeles County Museum system. The original tarpits were still there with their reconstructions of Pleistocene mammals around the site and the Los Angeles County Museum and its off-spring the La Brea Museum had developed a wonderful logo. It is one of the best museum logos I have ever seen. A sabre-tooth tiger, of course. A wonderful stylised piece of art work. A tiger with an open mouth and two huge canine teeth hanging down from above.



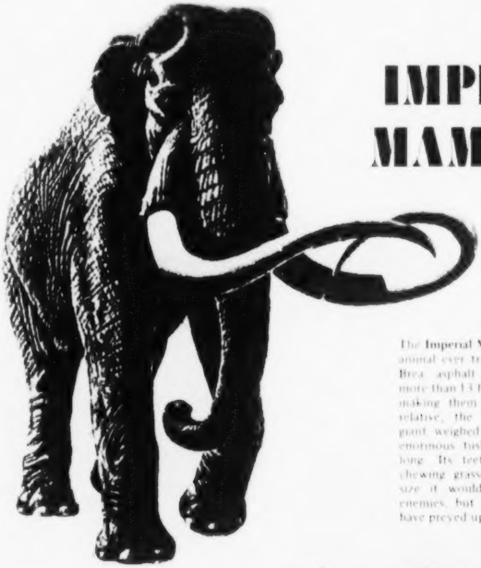
The wonderful thing about the La Brea Tarpit Museum is that it has great big elephants, with great tusks which curl over one another at their tips, mammoths of all sorts and great flying birds, the big extinct vulture-like birds of the La Brea tarpit area. The museum shows these Pleistocene animals either as reconstructions, or in the position of death still embedded in tar, or as mounted and hanging skeletons. If you look at a mounted skeleton of a long tusked elephant standing over 13 feet high at the shoulder, supported from the ceiling, you can see that it is an immense piece of reconstruction work and, of course, it says a great deal for the scientists and technologists who dug it out of its tar and disinterred it from the great tangle of bones of other creatures that would have got mixed up with it, cleaned it, and then reconstructed it and hung it.

There is also a great deal of other educational material in a wider sense in the tarpit museum. There are demonstrations, school classes, teaching rooms, video rooms, all very well organised from the educational point of view. But what do you see when you visit it? A giant elephant skeleton suspended from the ceiling is, technologically, a museum marvel. In the museum you might see perhaps two or three, or half a dozen scientists (perhaps New Zealanders) with their books gazing at this object to observe how it was hung there. But the great crowd of people are at the far end of the gallery. They are looking into the workshop through a set of glass windows where two or three scientists (of either sex) dressed in white lab coats are either sharpening pencils or making notes in notebooks, or picking away with toothpicks or with dental drills at great blocks of asphalt on the floor. They are actually taking the bones out. That is what people look at. The tens, probably hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of wonderful modern museum technology is not exactly wasted, nothing is wasted, but it is not the eye-catching, the really demanding attention-grabbing aspect of the museum. That is found in the people in white lab coats working rather slowly, digging individual bones from extinct mammoths out of blocks of asphalt.

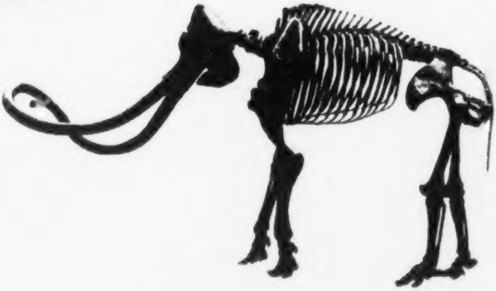
There had been a tremendous change in the museum situation in Los Angeles in the quarter century since I had first seen it in 1960. First of all, there had been the recognition by a place that thought it was going to be a museum, that in fact it was not. Second, there had been vast changes and improvements in what was once called a County museum. And, of course, there had been the change from a tarpit reserve to a vast tarpit interpretation centre of the very best sort. Still, it was the people doing things that attracted the attention of the visitors in the galleries.

These are just the comments of a biologist who now happens to work in a museum, about changes in the Los Angeles museum education scene over the course of twenty-five years. In the eighties it is people doing things that still grabs the attention just as much as it must have in the first few years of this century when people looked over the edge of the tarpits to watch the first scientists digging out the first bones from Allan Hancock's tarpits. So that's how tar and the Los Angeles museums got into this talk.

IMPERIAL MAMMOTH



The **Imperial Mammoth** was the largest animal ever trapped in the Rancho La Brea asphalt. Some examples were more than 13 feet high at the shoulders, making them larger than their living relative, the African Elephant. This giant weighed up to ten tons, and its enormous tusks were up to 14 feet long. Its teeth were well-suited for chewing grasses. Because of its large size it would have had few natural enemies, but the Sabertooth Cat may have preyed upon its young.



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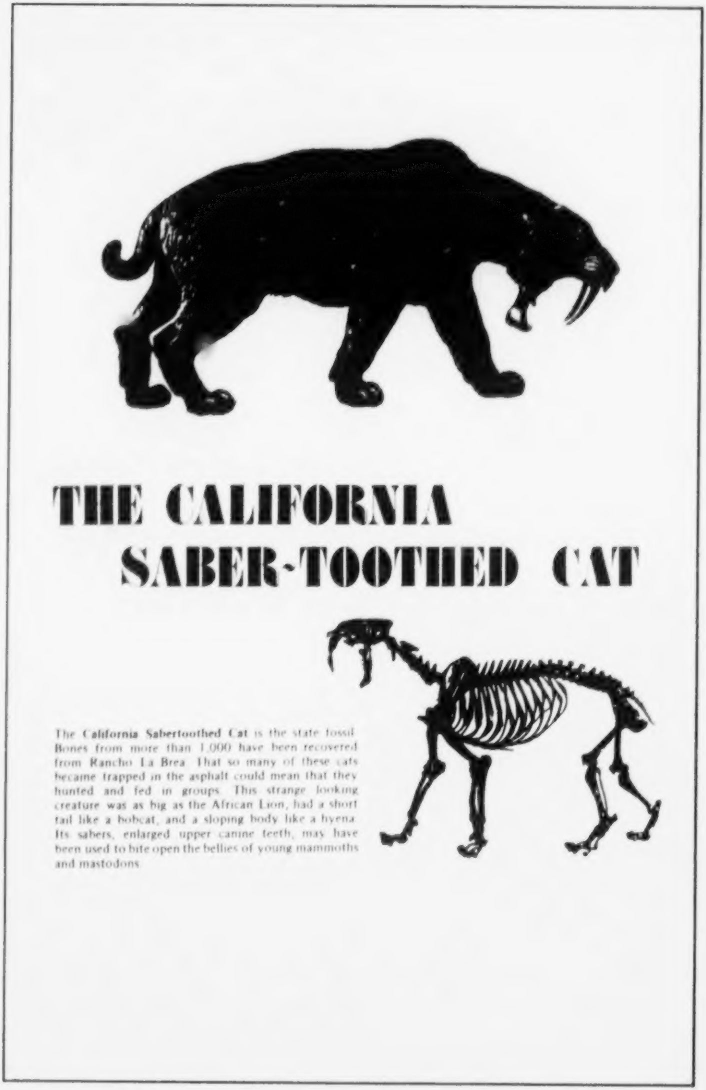

THE CALIFORNIA SABER-TOOTHED CAT

The **California Sabertoothed Cat** is the state fossil. Bones from more than 1,000 have been recovered from Rancho La Brea. That so many of these cats became trapped in the asphalt could mean that they hunted and fed in groups. This strange looking creature was as big as the African Lion, had a short tail like a bobcat, and a sloping body like a hyena. Its sabers, enlarged upper canine teeth, may have been used to bite open the bellies of young mammoths and mastodons.

EXCAVATION IN PIT 91

Paleontologists dig for fossils in excavations in the Rancho La Brea deposits in Hancock Park. Individual fossiliferous deposits can be from a few inches to over 40 feet deep. The walls of this excavation are prevented from caving in by stout wooden and steel supports. The floor of the pit is divided into three-foot-square grids so that the exact position of each fossil may be recorded. Fossils are excavated with small hand tools and each is kept in a separate container until it has been cleaned. In the lab the fossils are sorted, identified, labeled and added to the collections.

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27

THE IMPACT OF AMERICAN IDEAS ON NEW ZEALAND'S CULTURE

George Webby

Although my heritage and formal education are English, my cultural influences have been largely American. My first voyage overseas was to Dallas, Texas, and I lived, studied and worked there for three years. It was not until my Fulbright award in 1981 that I thought to visit England, 'The Old Country', and never was a country more aptly named. It seemed to be struggling to keep its place in the twentieth century. London had its marvellous museums and galleries and these were, if nothing else, vibrant and alive. When I visited London in 1981, I found the theatre was derivative and, what was sadder, at a low level. After several months there, my return to the United States was a return to the most exhilarating place on earth.

I had soaked up the United States of America since my childhood through films (hundreds and hundreds of films); the Lucky Strike Hit Parade over the American Forces shortwave radio during the war; reading and acting in Odets, Sherwood Anderson and O'Neill; reading everything on the best-seller lists from John P. Marquand to John dos Passos; buying as many Frank Sinatra 78s as I could find (and which I still possess) and, of course, devoting hours upon hours at the Wanganui and Wellington Public Libraries reading the *New York Times* , the *Christian Science Monitor* and every available theatre arts magazine that they had. At teachers college our education texts were more American than English. I grew up knowing every playwright, actor and director of consequence in New York or Hollywood, and every Broadway theatre and its siting relative to Times Square. (In all fairness I should add that I knew the same for London, but this was information I could hardly avoid, whereas I sought out the other).

And so it was only natural that I should turn an Arts Council grant for an overseas trip (1965-68) into a study period with one of my American cultural heroes, Dr Paul Baker of the innovative Dallas Theatre Centre, and never was a Master's degree pursued with more joy and enthusiasm. I directed the Centre's best actors, and those actors were among the best in the United States of America, and when I left at the end (I had to leave as part of the bargain one drives when I was given, over there, a Leaders Cultural Award to visit theatres around the United States) I pined to return. New Zealand had changed to decimal coinage and 10 o'clock closing and that wrenching alteration seemed enough change for the next decade. Fifteen years later, I returned to the States as a Fulbright scholar to look at drama schools, and I returned to changes I hadn't foreseen. From a time of the Watts race riots in Los Angeles, where my nearest close contact with blacks had been with my cleaning lady, who mistook my oh-so-liberal overtures of friendship for gestures of seduction; to having a black woman serve me at the American Express office in Dallas and have her, much to my inner amusement and satisfaction, put me in my place. From a time when no one in Dallas knew or cared about New Zealand, to a new awareness, by the Americans I mixed with, of the world outside their own country. During my first visit I found only two references to New Zealand in the *New York Times*, one a quaint piece about the Friendly Road Church in Auckland wanting the birch returned, and the other a reference to Prime Minister Holyoake, eating the unwanted bacon off Lynda Bird Johnson's plate. On my later visits people have told me of articles about New Zealand in newspapers where we are no longer confused with Newfoundland, and no longer joined, as if by some not-so-long umbilical cord, to Australia. What had shocked me most of all, during my first visit, was not the United States people's lack of knowledge about the outside world (and that was profound enough), but the complete indifference to it.

I had read every transcript, every news item about, say, the catastrophic Un-American Activities Committee's trials of people in the arts who were, in my eyes, my colleagues and my friends and even an extension of myself. Somehow I naively thought the relationship would be reciprocal. These same people with whom I identified were being pilloried for the same beliefs I held. For instance, we at Unity Theatre in Wellington espoused Stanislavsky, just as my heroes and heroines at the Group Theatre La Mama, and the Actors' Studio had. I knew they would want to know all about me, my theatre world, about New Zealand. I had speeches prepared and saw myself on lecture tours, paying my way through the States with speeches both erudite and witty. I couldn't have been more wrong. I found I was loved for my cute accent but also found the cutest thing I could do was to absorb myself into the American way of life as rapidly as possible. Although America seemed to be made up of as many countries as it had states, they all united under the one, not-so-surprising banner, 'my country, right or wrong' (with a little incidental footnote: Who else is there, anyway?). But where we used to mock, not so gently, American excessive and obsessive patriotism, I now think that New Zealand has joined in this excess, and our television screens are now bombarded by advertisements telling us what a great lot we are. Thus we can draw a pretty general rule that as goes the United States, so goes New Zealand – one or two decades later.

One of the subtlest impacts on New Zealand has been made through our absorption of European culture, not directly, but through the American digestive system; a transformed potpourri of those self-same influences we inherited, undigested, from Europe. America is a young country and so are we but the major difference is that they are rich and powerful and represent the smalltown boy making good, something New Zealand both envies and aspires to. We would like to have that brash, forward-looking brilliance, and the plum-pudding qualities that irritate us about our European past irritate the Americans too. In other words, if you can't run with the ball, hand it on and this is precisely what the United States has done.

As an immensely rich country able to buy anything it wants, it has done just that and if some of the money gets squandered, a lot isn't. At times it seems that most of the European greats in the arts have gone to the United States to live – and most of their work lands up there. I never thought, when I visited the Museum of Modern Art – as I did many times – that I could actually have a surfeit of original Picassos. Americans, as I knew them in Dallas at least, dearly love (or at least dearly love to own) originals, whether they are people, works of art, or buildings transported across the sea.

Twenty years ago, when New Zealanders were content to frame a Rembrandt or an early New Zealand print put out by the Turnbull Library, Americans in Dallas were faced in their commercial galleries with the originals. Some were good, some were bad, and they all seemed to be seascapes, and this was one of the reasons, as a New Zealander used to living close to water, I sought out those galleries. But even if they only bought the originals for their frames, the Texans were at least making a value judgement of their own, not obeying, as we do, hand-me-down notions of what we *ought* to have on our walls. But two decades have passed and we at least have nervously graduated to invest in a limited edition of Raymond Ching prints. But our galleries are still full of the overseas imports. Wandering through Lambton Quay galleries recently, I was astonished at how alike, in their gold frames, the pictures were, as if each gallery was determined to show in its art exhibits a sort of natural counterpoint to the acres and acres of state houses that New Zealand threw up, all different and all looking the same.

It is this unfortunate American trait we have acquired, the desire to conform to the latest 'in' fashion or style. We all Warhol together, or we don't Warhol at all. Now all this is a personal view, but, at least to me, these are some of the obvious manifestations of the effect the United States of America has had on our culture. Where once our forefathers (and mothers) played 'I'm the King of the Castle', we grew up learning to play 'Cops and Robbers' and 'Cowboys and Indians', whilst later generations play Space Invaders. It matches the economic impact of the supermarket, Coca Cola and McDonalds. We have had no similar 'invasion' from Britain, or Russia or Japan (except for cars). It has led, of course, to our joining forces with the United States on all sorts of levels, just as I joined forces with my theatre colleagues when I felt their freedom had been threatened. We joined forces over Vietnam, or the Fulbright programme itself. We are now, for good or ill, in each other's pocket, and commitment to each other is now inextricable. The tracing of that inextricability is a life's work for someone, and we only hint at it here.

One ends up dealing in cliches. America is a hodge podge of nations and its influences are from all over. We can accept that Chekhov led to Williams, Ibsen to Miller, and Ionesco to David Mamet but we cannot accept that America in its influence is only reflecting a stage in its own development. In other words, the American influences on New Zealand do not for the most part have their genesis in America so much as they took their (and our) European heritage and scrutinised it. That heritage has been looked at, worked over and altered, and, most of all, revitalised to an extent that it may seem innovative and new.

And with that singular generosity that marks the American off from other people, in my opinion, they have allowed us to take, or ignore what they have to offer. It is entirely our responsibility whether we choose to absorb the less happy aspects along with the good. If we choose, as we seem to have chosen, to have a television system that reflects all that is bad about overseas television of the 60s and the 70s and to reject that which was good and marked us off from our neighbours, it is entirely a matter of our own responsibility. In our greed, in our desire to have what the grown-ups have got, we have become confused. To carry the television story further, we have elected to do what no self-respecting American would allow, and that is to charge a licence fee to have the privilege to watch advertisements. And with seven days a week advertising, we will have no public broadcasting system such as they have in Australia, England, Canada and the United States. And so, using my theory that we inherit things American a decade later, the crassness and tastelessness we used to see as the major component of American (culture) even if it was only a veneer, has now become an essential part of the New Zealand pysche. We have not learnt one essential lesson from the United States, and that is to examine, alter and reject if necessary before adopting. The United States does not reveal its true riches easily, and if as a society we have chosen to accept everything willynilly, the cheap and brazen along with the finest the country has to offer, we have only ourselves to blame. It is over to us all not just the Fulbright scholars, to repay our hosts in the very best possible way, by using the gifts of our hosts to enhance and develop the qualities that will make us a useful and uniquely different member of this earth's nations. And I acknowledge immediately that is a great deal easier to say than to carry out.

28

THE IMPACT OF AMERICAN THEORY AND IDEAS ON ART EDUCATION IN NEW ZEALAND

Ray Thorburn

For most artists, talking about themselves and their art to an audience is public crucifixion. They would much rather their work did its own talking. To corral a group of the critters to do it together, is like extracting teeth – excruciating!

The reason is that presentations of this nature tend to generalize and gloss over deep feelings and intense convictions so personal they can only be communicated in the artist's chosen medium. To do so in another medium is likely to trivialise and reduce meaning to banality. Also feelings and concepts are the genesis of art and when taken out of context they can end up being treated as light entertainment. Nevertheless artists, like everybody else, appreciate feedback and are willing to share in a conducive environment.

A PERSONAL PERSPECTIVE

Unless released, new experiences and ideas can remain caged inside oneself. When I returned from America I found that fellow New Zealanders did not want to know or hear of yet another OE (overseas experience). This was frustrating. Slowly but surely fresh ideas atrophy and become memories, for knowledge is useless unless utilised. It is also uneconomic not to put it to good effect especially if it has been paid for from the public purse. In other words, appropriate debriefing and follow up is essential.

If fellow Fulbrighters experienced similar frustrations, I suggest that these should be addressed so that others will benefit from such a rich resource in the future.

I suspect I was luckier than most, for my degrees are in curriculum development and I was fortunate to work in the Curriculum Unit of the Department of Education in the field of art education where my academic and artistic experiences were professionally valuable.

Theoretical discourse and postgraduate degrees were, for me, the means to an end and not an end in themselves. The real value was the experience of America and Americans. My presentation therefore will be anecdotal. It is for Bill Renwick.

FIRST IMPRESSIONS OF AMERICA

Fed by media mythology that Americans were glossy, John Wayne, McDonalds munching, super heroes, I arrived in New York with a copy of *Art Forum* and two telephone numbers (of strangers). This impression had been coloured and my appetite whetted, by a real life John Wayne; an ex-marine top sergeant, who gave me my first taste of a 'real man's' America – Kentucky bourbon high over the Atlantic.

On arrival at Kennedy Airport we were two pre-Stallone 'Rambos' ready to take on New York's finest. At least this was so until my bourbon buddy disappeared into the crowd, leaving me to find my own way to the downtown YMCA via the East Side terminal. Nobody wanted to know me and I was invisible; the size of a pinhead in the middle of the biggest, meanest, ugliest, most beautiful city in the world. The 'Art Mecca' of western civilization according to *Art Forum*.

My first seventy-two hours in the Big Apple were incredible. The first morning I somehow got mixed up in an anti-Vietnam protest march down Fifth Avenue to Central Park. I was surrounded by real live gun-slinging 'Dukes' wearing sunglasses and peering over the top of their riot shields. I was amazed at their rudeness; 'I don't care where you come from buddy', was their usual response.

There and then I decided to make my first phone call to Roger Caras and his wife who were wonderful. They invited me to dinner at their house in Queens which was a most welcome contrast to the mean machines I confronted on Fifth Avenue, who laughed and joked about crunching heads! A fellow guest that night was another Kiwi who offered me an empty apartment downtown. I was overjoyed but my euphoria was short-lived. To get in the front door, I had to first look left and right for any suspicious person, step over whoever had curled up on the 'stoop' around a bottle of 'Ripple' supermarket wine wrapped in a paper bag, unlock a paint flaked steel door with triple locks, and dash inside. My apartment was a room with a bathroom in the Bowery. Not Mayor Koch's now trendy East Side, but the human pits that it was in the early 70s; night shelters and derelict, pickled people. Where were all the John Waynes? Nobody spoke English, just mumbled and blew bad breath.

My second phone call was to another expatriate New Zealander whom I had admired for a long time. Len Lye answered the phone and within thirty minutes we met in his favourite Mexican restaurant on 13th Street. This was the beginning of a very close relationship. We met every day after that.

Within three days of arrival, I had my own place, a famous artist friend and a network of contacts! The Big Apple had shrunk to village size. My part of town was bordered by the East and West Hudson between Canal Street and the Chelsea Hotel. Len introduced me to every pastry shop, restaurant, fruit vendor and artist in the Greenwich Village/Soho area. Even the Bowery Street people and stink of the subway were no longer alien. Exhibitions by world famous artists rubbed shoulders across West Broadway.

My friendship with Len was the beginning of an important relationship, one which made me promise to come home and beat, goodness knows how, the bureaucrats until the art establishment in New Zealand recognized Len Lye. This was a task that took the next six years and the dedication of many people, culminating in the permanent installation of Len Lye's kinetic sculpture at the Govett Brewster Art Gallery in New Plymouth as his own art temple.

For ten years, in one way or another, I was closely associated with Len. Throughout that time he constantly reminded me of my responsibility as an artist and educator to develop a curriculum for schools and tertiary institutions that gave all people the opportunity to know and experience the power of art that was spiritually rooted in people's genetic pasts; commitment to the notion that for 'feelings' to be adequately expressed, they require an enlightened art curriculum to train the senses plus appropriate technology to express them in art form. 'I'm for the 21st Century', Len always said.

I was hooked, and returned to New Zealand captivated and challenged by the shapes and smells of New York, but most of all inspired by my friend Len Lye to look beyond the boundaries of known artistic conventions and find new ways to express the inner spirit.

ARTISTS AND EDUCATION

Thanks to a NZ/US Fulbright scholarship, in 1974 I returned to the United States to study for a postgraduate degree in art education at the Ohio State University. Naturally I got in touch with Len Lye and he reminded me of my curriculum responsibilities. I now realize his influence markedly affected the direction of my research. A key outcome was a series of case studies of New York based, internationally renowned, visual artists, choreographers and composers. My purpose was to examine the relationship between each art discipline based on information gathered directly from the artists, not text books, and to design a related arts curriculum around what they held to be important and not what critics and historians said. What emerged was unexpected; the opposite to what devotees of related arts courses at that time assumed. Each art discipline is unique, and in language/terminology, skills and application are distinct and different. They cannot be effectively studied collectively. My conclusion after a year's work, was that you could not learn much about one art form by studying another. Even common terminology had different meanings for different artists; talk to sculptors and choreographers about composition and it is like talking about chalk and cheese, even though both are composing in three dimensional space.

This conclusion was reinforced by the artists with whom I worked. We agreed that a multi-arts study must first of all be preceded by the study of one or more individual art disciplines that any related arts course, as Bennett Reimer (1980) points out, should address the aesthetic differences, not force similarities which at best would only distort artistic meaning, confuse aesthetic issues, and contribute little to arts understanding. This of course does not apply when artists from different disciplines collaborate with each other, as Robert Rauchenburg, John Cage and Merc Cunningham did in the 60s. Also equally obvious, is that such a hypothesis is probably only true of Western civilization with its predilection for individual excellence.

During the summer of '74, I also helped Len Lye reassemble his kinetic sculpture ready for John Matthews from New Plymouth, whose purpose it was to learn how to construct Len's sculpture on a mega scale, sufficient to satisfy his dream of an art temple where people went on a pilgrimage to pay homage to art.

THEORY OF CULTURES

In 1979 I returned to study for a Ph.D at the Ohio State University. This experience had a profound effect on my thinking and influenced the shape and direction of my work as educator and artist.

Fantastic! I was back with old friends but this time I was committed to study the social context of art.

When I returned, I felt part of America – as though I had never left – but also distinctly un-American. I admired the sense of professionalism and purpose. I appreciated the 'up front' way people respected and rewarded excellence and achievement, compared to the New Zealand penchant for 'stick-in-the-crowd' mediocrity.

Yet the academic global culture, and homogenised theory had produced a universal philosophy which did not sit quite right with New Zealand experience. There was something missing, for it was too unrelated to the muddied, cow pat, playground-come-football field of New Zealand schools, that I had left behind. It did not address local cultural values. My aim then was to examine the relationship between theory and practice from a socio-cultural perspective, to bridge the theory-practice gap and examine its relevance in the context of the cultural traditions of New Zealand.

When we began work on the new art syllabus for primary and secondary schools in New Zealand, there was an ideological schism. On the one side were those who advocated art as self-expression, supported by the Deweyan concept of progressivism and the psychoanalytic theories of Freud and Lowenfeld. On the other side, were those who supported the objective traditions of universal aesthetic properties with their own definable content.

These two ideologies epitomised the gap between primary and secondary art teaching. This division was signalled by Victor D'Amico in the preface to his book *Creative Teaching in Art* (1953). In the traditional approach to education, the opposite is often true – all the emphasis is put on the child as an individual but the motivation, processes and tools for developing individuality remain vague and confused.

The universalism of the Bauhaus School was apparent in secondary school teacher training in New Zealand in the late 1950s and early 1960s and it markedly influenced the direction my art took. It was essentially an intellectual concept, based on the formal relationship of the universal properties of art, that is, line, colour and texture which when shaped by artists, combined to create what Clive Bell termed 'significant form'.

However it was the work and writing of Manual Barkan (1955) who provided me with the real bridging clue. He postulated that art is a visual language consisting of a set of abstract symbols, which when translated into action are imbued with an individual's attitudes, feelings and ideas which communicate to others in a particular cultural context. In this sense, Barkan viewed artistic experience as a synthesis of idea and form, but was careful to point out that the value of the arts in experience and education is intimately related to our personal and cultural values.

It was Arthur Efland (1970), eminent scholar and mentor at the Ohio State University who broke these theoretical constraints when he proposed that as long as the arts and humanities involve contending values, the possibility of identifying structures which can represent these domains to the learner does not exist. He said that domains need to be represented as arenas of contending values, and specific goals can be designated only at the expense of narrowing the range of inquiries. Moreover, since conceptions of value enact themselves in several modes of inquiry, the principal task of the curriculum-maker is to find ways of representing the search for new aesthetic values in the classroom.

While the lack of cumulative-hierarchical structure in art would seem to suggest that subject matter sequence is one of arbitrary choice on the part of a teacher, it is nevertheless possible to consider levels of activity selected on the basis of maturity and prior experience. Finally, although the nature of readiness for learning in art is not precisely known, we can presume that in large part this involves capabilities in perceptual and symbolic manipulation. We are learning also that there are enormous differences in the abilities of youngsters from various social origins and we should begin to account for these differences in our teaching.

In an earlier paper delivered at a Symposium organised by University of Auckland, Department of Continuing Education (Thorburn, 1975), I quoted a colleague who wrote to me,

> I have always been frustrated by the knowledge that I am not one of the cogniscenti, but one who thinks very much with his heart and his guts – a somatic thinker. But I feel better when I realize the other extreme is where one self-indulgently obtains pleasure from the clever manipulation of words clinically removed from feeling.

Art education then is not just the head (subject without feelings) or heart (feelings without subject) but the dynamic that results when the two come together in a conducive school environment. To achieve this, the content of art education must be intimately related to *personal*, *cultural* and *social values.*

THE UNITED STATES – NEW ZEALAND CONNECTION

The Ohio Department of Education, 'Art Education Guidelines, K-12' states as a major goal:

> To understand the role of art in society through understanding how societies use art expression and how societies respond to art.

The draft art education syllabus for New Zealand schools J1-F7, interestingly states:

> The aim of art education is to enable students to learn to make art works and to develop an understanding of the actions and relationships of art in cultures and in society.

It further states that,

> Within New Zealand society there are many cultural groups. Two major traditions Maori and European contribute to an art that is distinctive. Art responds to cultural and social change and New Zealand art is altering constantly under various influences. Examples of these are the tradition of the Pacific Islanders and other peoples and the impact of new technology. An art education for New Zealanders must reveal the distinctive and evolving character of New Zealand art in comparison with the art of other societies. It must also help people to increase their understanding of their particular culture (Department of Education, 1988).

The new national Diploma in Craft Design (1988) in polytechnics, also has as its aim,

> For students to pursue excellence in craft design and to make a significant contribution as artists and craftspeople to the cultural and economic life of New Zealand... to understand the cultural origins and mana associated with art and craft and design in New Zealand and other countries.

I am not claiming ownership of these statements. They are the words of colleagues with whom I worked throughout the development period. Rather I use them to illustrate the causal connections between global theory and what Barkan said, which is the critical link, if learning is to have meaning to individuals wherever they may be. I reiterate his words yet again, 'That the value of the arts in experience and education is intimately related to our personal and cultural lives'. In other words the meaning and value attached to art works are socially and culturally determined.

ANOTHER FRONTIER

I suspect that these new curriculum directions in New Zealand art education would meet with Len Lye's approval, but to be on the safe side, I would like to briefly address a 21st century.development; that is, the quintessence of art and technology.

It also enables me to pay tribute to the NZ-US Fulbright programme for its outstanding contribution to new ideas and developments in education. One such outcome: in 1986 my dear friend, fellow student and colleague, Dr Thomas Linehan, Associate Director, Advanced Computing Centre for the Arts and Design at the Ohio State University, came to New Zealand as a Senior Fulbright Research Fellow. His purpose was to undertake an analysis of computer graphics needs in New Zealand polytechnics. His work has lead to the first ever courses in computer graphics in polytechnics.

The Department of Education is currently collaborating with Ohio State University on the implementation of advanced level courses in this boundary breaking field. Len Lye, I am sure, would have loved it.

Computer graphics is the application of computer technology to simulate two-dimensional and three-dimensional images of the world in real time. Computer generated images are synthetic pictures manipulated in four-dimensional space (XYZ and time). Synthetic sound is also an important element that expands the multi-sensory capability of the medium.

In a recent *Dialogue*, published by the US Information Service, an article looked at the widespread cross-disciplinary applications of computer graphics. For example, artists and scientists can reconstruct or create real pictures of interplanetary space. Astronauts can train in simulated environments that duplicate real space travel. Driving conditions can be exactly reproduced to test driving skills. Information gathered by geologists can generate three-dimensional maps of hidden subterranean fields. Theatre designers can use computers to plot sets and lighting configurations. Historians can reconstruct ancient buildings. Physicists can see things impossible to simulate in any other way. Physicians can rebuild the interior of a shattered face. Applications are extensive in architecture, engineering and shipbuilding. The advertising, video, film and television industries have been revolutionized by computer graphics technology. Weavers construct and visualize completed fabrics on microcomputers attached to hand looms and modify their designs as required. It is possible for ceramicists to visualize all facets of the final form, including surface decoration before production begins (Thorburn, 1988).

The Ohio State University Advanced Computing Centre for Arts and Design is a world authority on computer graphics/science research and teaching. It was the NZ-US Educational Foundation that has brought expertise of this calibre to New Zealand, enabling us to introduce this challenging new development. We now need another Linehan to help us set up our advanced level courses.

I sincerely thank you for the invitation to contribute, for it has enabled me to bring into sharp focus, yet again, how much I owe the American people, Len and Ann Lye, New York, the Ohio State University, Bob Arnold, Tom Linehan and especially my American mother and father-in-law, Louise and Pat Philbin for Anne.

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TERROR VISION

James Mack did not present a formal paper, preferring to give a visual performance. This photograph is in recognition of his lively contribution.

CLOSING REMARKS

Merimeri Penfold

I will begin by saying that I came to this conference which is celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the Fulbright programme in New Zealand to hear what was said. I have listened for the last two days and have pondered long and seriously as to the implications of the American influence and what connection it has with the Maori experience of education in this country.

As a primary teacher for twenty years, I was not aware that what I was part of, the New Zealand education system, had been influenced to such an extent by American thought. I have learned only in the past two days the extent of this influence.

With hindsight I can look back on my experience of the educational system of this country. For many, I do believe that there were times when it was exhilarating – a truly exhilarating experience. The desire to learn, the desire to move into this experience was for me, as for many of my peers, and for many of my people, exciting. It seemed an exhilarating sort of area to move into and we grappled with the challenges that we met. Again with hindsight, I look at and ponder about the many, many, strange, unfamiliar sorts of experiences which we encountered when we entered the education system.

As a Maori child, whose mother tongue was Maori, as was true for many of us in that era, here was a system that required us to move into it and learn to become part of it. But there were some strange things that happened to us and now I wonder whether some were due to American influence. I ponder that.

What was the attitude of the educational system to the Maori in that era? Take the all-important question of my culture, my mother tongue. What part did they have in the educational system? In my experience they had no part in the educational system and I was made very much aware of that fact. But I was resilient. There were all sorts of challenges. If we were not so resilient maybe we would have been deterred from furthering our education. I know we were resilient. We challenged the system by speaking our mother tongue and being caned for it.

Education was exciting. We were young, and we didn't ever think that the neglect of our culture was something to worry about. Our parents didn't express concern. If they were concerned, they certainly did not have the courage to move in a bit closer to the system of which their children were a part.

Then there were intelligence tests. Was that the American influence? The experience of taking a test was horrendous. But it was sort of exciting, too. It was challenging. But you know, we wondered, what was it all about? We couldn't understand or appreciate in what way we were being tested. Our parents didn't know anything about it. But we Maori children still went into the system and in many ways we were very positive about it. As time went on we realised that education was something for us, and we remembered that, traditionally, we had had a school of learning of our own. It was not foreign to us, the business of learning. It was part of our culture. So, going into the education system became a challenge just as it was in the traditional Maori society. At that time we did not baulk in the way we are baulking right now. In the rural areas where we came from, Maori people had a great respect for knowledge. There was a tradition in the rural areas that someone from each family must be financed and sent to secondary school and hopefully further on, to training college and perhaps to the universities. So that was our tradition. You can go back into those rural communities and find that many of the families made it their business to get one child at least to go on to further education and not be taught at primary school and leave it at that. We were not aware of American influences which had been caught up in the New Zealand education system and which were, perhaps, influencing Maori education.

Again when I look back as a former teacher in primary schools and not as a pupil I am not aware that there was such a thing as process writing. I was twenty years in teaching and I did not hear anyone like David Philips and the other members of his session say, 'Yes, teaching writing should be part of the package of skills which we as teachers take to our youngsters – to Maori and Pakeha. Writing is a tool for learning and we need to be skilled in it.'

At this seminar I heard Anne Keppel speak of her experiences, the experiences of a woman in higher education. We might discuss how these rural Maori communities I have been talking about sent people on for further education. The Maori tended to send the men but, for all that, there is evidence that a great number of women were also given that chance. Young girls also were sent for further education, for secondary education and into the boarding schools.

When youngsters come to school they bring in a package of exciting things. I know we did. Something that was alien to our teachers. And it was never tapped. It was never recognised. The role we played was to take, take, take, take things that we didn't understand and put them into our basket of things we were familiar with. And in a bi-cultural society, that, to me, is regrettable. Was this the American influence? I do believe that there were attempts at taking American models, looking at them, and the powers that be examining them and trying to make them fit us here. Fit New Zealand society. I think that did happen. But way at the other end there was the Maori connection, not quite fitting that, and that I think is something that I have pondered over as I have listened to all the many fine papers that were delivered in the past two days. They excited me, opened my eyes, enabled me to look at, and peer in, and sort of look back and think, 'Well I was part of that and yet I was ignorant of this American connection'. That was not good enough really. I failed in my responsibility in becoming more knowledgeable in order to perform better as a teacher in the classroom. So, I really do congratulate all those people who participated because it was a wonderful experience to sit and listen to all who have gone overseas and had the opportunity to move into an exciting field and come back here to New Zealand and make a contribution to the general education system of the country.

I have a number of different experiences that I want to tell you about. As a teacher I have had some connections with children in an intermediate school in middle-class Auckland. They were looking at race relations in New Zealand from the 1900s up until the present time and they sent me a whole lot of questions. Bright youngsters. They invited me to answer some of their questions and then they invited me back to speak with them. So I thought I had to really reach these youngsters who had no awareness of Maori, of what Maoris did, and so I mentioned the fact that as a Maori I came from a big family. I had to learn to share things with other people. And as a Maori when the French rugby team came to play in Auckland, all my relations came to stay with me. We brought all the mattresses into the sittingroom because they were only my relatives, they were only there for a short time, two days, and so we slept together, sang together, cried together, and ate together before they went to see the rugby and then went home. And at the end of this exercise I made the point with these youngsters that like Old Mother Hubbard I would go to the cupboard afterwards and it would be bare. However, the main thing was that we had made that contact with our kin. And then there was question time and a little wee child, a boy, stood up and said, 'Mrs Penfold, what are the advantages of being a Maori?' I had never heard such a refreshing question and it could never have come from people other than these young people. Never been asked that question, never thought of it, but I had to think quickly.

I made the point – materially I wouldn't be a Maori to the day I die, I wouldn't be a Maori because I'm linked to both groups. But spiritually, I would be a Maori to the day I die. Because it doesn't matter how hopeless I am, I can always be sure that my tipuna (ancestors) will look after me to the bitter end of my time here.

Then the next question came and a young man said, 'Do you think that Pakehas should try to be more like Maoris?' because he seemed to see that there were advantages. I answered: 'Trying to be like each other is beyond your mother and me, because we are both full of prejudices. Our generation was brought up that way. However, you young people should try to work together, and convince each other that there are things to be learnt and which are beneficial to each other. That is a task you young people should set about doing'.

So here we have Anne, Jane, Keith and all those people with those interesting ideas. Professor Lily Wong Fillmore – you know, you've moved into a field that's very close to me, a field that I have been committed to for a long time. I heard you and I enjoyed that paper. So I congratulate you all for the quality of thinking, for the way that you have brought the material together and put it before us and before each other. It's been a wonderful experience.

Na reira, Kia ora tatou katoa. Kia ora.

CLOSING REMARKS

FULBRIGHT SEMINAR – CHANGE THROUGH EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE

Colin Knight

What has been the impact of American ideas on New Zealand education policy and practice? That is the question we set out to answer, a task Bill Renwick described as 'like looking for hares in long brown grass in the afternoon sun'. The task has really been like looking at a hillside of rabbits on a central Otago shingle-covered slope in the early evening, because the influences have been multifarious, continuous and coming from all directions. This seminar has given us a tremendous feeling for the wide range of elements that have contributed to the New Zealand culture. It has made us aware of the way in which the Kiwi culture is the product of the diffusion of ideas; ideas that have come from America and many other parts of the world.

First of all, what are the ideas that have come from America that have influenced education in New Zealand and, second, how did those ideas get to New Zealand? In an age of conferences concerned with making education more 'efficient', this seminar has been different. The focus has been on education's concern for individuals and about its role in a world of change. Throughout the conference the recurring theme was the objective for education expressed so eloquently by Peter Fraser back in 1939,

> ... that every person, whatever his level of academic ability, whether he is rich or poor, whether he lives in town or country, has a right as a citizen to a free education of the kind for which he is best fitted.

The two words that emerge as the focus of the conference are 'individuals' and 'change'. Bronowski in *The Ascent of Man* makes the point that civilisation has developed as the result of individuals using their ability to meet challenges and bring about change. A truly humane civilisation will be reached when we enable individuals, through education, to respond to change positively and creatively. Exchanging ideas is a form of education that enables individuals to cope with change. Professor Ann Keppel described the tension between tradition and innovation. Equity for individuals has been impeded by isolation from ideas and resistance to them. Resistance to change comes from being 'trapped by time and space'. The Fulbright programme has helped to free us from that trap of time and space.

WHAT ARE THE AMERICAN INFLUENCES ON CHANGE IN NEW ZEALAND EDUCATION?

The first is the concept of democracy in education; the idea that all children have the right of access to an education that is best suited to their particular needs. This idea from Dewey, underlies many of the statements we have heard at the seminar. Democracy in education or to paraphrase an American expression again, 'education of the people, by the people, for the people', has characterised many of the papers. Arising out of this democratic concept is the idea of individual differences such as the need for child-centred education and for progressive education. Wally Penetito talked about it; Kathie Irwin talked about it, and it was highlighted by Professor Lily Wong Fillmore, who focussed on the value of cultural diversity and the need to provide for minority group language needs. Kathie drew our attention to the needs of the Maori and the role of compensatory Head Start and affirmative action and Wally explained why progressive education, as transmitted from America, had been unsuccessful in meeting the needs of indigenous people here.

Early intervention was another way of helping individuals, highlighted by Lottie Thomson in the programme on special education. The need to provide for individuals with special needs through mainstreaming was raised by Christine Hilton-Jones. Ted Glynn revealed the importance of the social context in helping individuals learn. Jane Ritchie and Ann Keppel focussed on the needs of women as individuals and the transformations that are required in order to give these individuals their rights to an equal education.

A third concept that came through – social efficacy – was the one highlighted by Logan Moss and Bill Renwick. A fourth one was that change is a two-way process; a process that moves backwards and forwards. For example, not only did American education influence New Zealand but New Zealand influenced America, just as women's studies are now influencing men's attitudes, the Maori education system is influencing the Pakeha system and vice versa and the mainstreaming of disabled people into normal classrooms is having a positive effect on the attitudes of other pupils in the classrooms. Ted Glynn also stressed how teacher and pupil learn from each other, in a two-way process.

The fifth concept was the idea of education as a process. Bill Renwick and Sir Kenneth Keith stressed that it was the processes that came across from America, rather than the structures. Sir Kenneth stressed the importance of the case study method, for example, in the teaching of law in New Zealand as a method that originated in Harvard. Marcy McLay, in her paper, discussed other teaching methods used in law, that originated in North America; such as the inquiry approach, the use of field work and interactive learning.

A sixth source of ideas focussed on vocational training. Lady Jocelyn Keith, Judith Christensen and Merian Litchfield described how nursing training was initially based on the British model but has gradually moved away from the hospital-based British system towards the American university-based system.

The seventh group of ideas focussed on the impact of American ideas on the arts in New Zealand education. Ideas about broadcasting, and the training of broadcasters were raised by Brian Pauling. Ideas on morality were, of course, touched on by Geoff Lealand when he talked about cultural imperialism and the influence of American popular culture on young people in New Zealand. Ideas on continuing education, as exemplified by the diffusion of the DACUM project from Ohio to New Zealand, were discussed by Adrienne Burleigh.

A significant theme that came through the seminar is exemplified by Ann Keppel's paper, the idea of the transformation of teaching from a traditional discipline's approach to multi-disciplinary holistic approaches. Wally Penetito dealt with this theme in his discussion of the connectiveness of the concepts and holistic approach to Maori education.

These have been some of the ideas listed by speakers as coming from America. How did the ideas get here? Initially books and journals were the major influence. Recall Dr Beeby's comment (quoted by Bill Renwick) that we only met authors on the spines of their books before travel grants made personal contacts possible. We initially picked up American ideas only through the printed word in books such as those of William James and John Dewey. These books had a major impact on New Zealand education in the early part of the twentieth century. Logan Moss also stressed the role of American books in New Zealand universities when he pointed out, for example, that Percy Nunn's *First Principles* was at the top of the list of the 20 most commonly used books in university education departments in the last 45 years. Jane Ritchie highlighted the seminal influence of Margaret Mead's books, especially *Coming of Age in Samoa*. Professor Lily Wong Fillmore reminded us of its continuing influence and of the continuing influence of other books, such as Goodlad's *A Place Called School*.

However, I was surprised we did not hear more about the influence of Jerome Bruner and his 'process of education' and Bloom's 'taxonomy of educational objectives'. I am sure those of you who went through Teachers College in the last twenty years would have been strongly influenced by those two books.

A second method of transmitting educational ideas was through curriculum projects, such as PSSC physics, the green biology HSGP, geography, MACOS social studies and, of course, the impact of the National Writing Project, which Ruie Pritchard, Vince Catherwood and David Philips described. The role of Americans such as Richard Adler, Donald Graves and Richard Young at Carnegie Mellon in the development of these projects was also highlighted.

The third way in which American ideas were transmitted was through the use of standardised tests like Terman's. Then, of course, there was the cumulative influence of American ideas through the setting up of NZCER with Carnegie support.

Another way in which ideas were transferred was through research paradigms; what Ted Glynn referred to as 'methodological transplants'. We have had ethnographic approaches applied to behavioural research, and ecological approaches discussed by Ted Glynn. Another form of research which has influenced many of our universities and teachers colleges are the studies of classroom interactions, which influenced the work of Nuthall and Lawrence at the University of Canterbury. The Flanders' matrix was also very much used in classroom interaction.

Structures were the other thing which reflected American influences. We talked about the development of the intermediates from junior high schools and the administrative system which the Picot system is advocating, to a certain extent, based on the American system of local management. The use of semesters in universities reflects also the American influence on our institutions.

Another method of transmitting ideas has been through the movement of people. These movements can be grouped into several categories. First of all there was overseas study for degrees. As Geraldine McDonald and Sue Middleton pointed out, 25 percent of the lecturers in New Zealand university Departments of Education had American degrees. Sir Kenneth Keith and Marcy McLay also pointed out that eighty New Zealand solicitors have studied overseas and many of them have got degrees from overseas. It is also common for nurses to have done their training overseas. So we have had many graduate students going to the USA and bringing ideas back.

Travel grants were the second category of people moving. As Geraldine's paper pointed out, she noted that over 1500 people had actually moved from one side of the Pacific to another and ideas have been interchanged in that way.

Then we have had the permanent shift of staff; a factor that has not been touched on very much. If we analysed the number of Americans in New Zealand universities or, conversely, the number of New Zealanders in American universities we would be surprised.

When I was in America five years ago, I did an analysis of the number of New Zealand geographers (which is my subject) in American universities. I found 50 New Zealand geographers in permanent positions in American universities.

These are the main types of transmission of ideas through the movement of people. In searching, then, for the impact of American educational ideas on New Zealand education, we have discovered that New Zealand has developed a hybrid system of education; a hybrid which has arisen from the borrowing of ideas initially from Britain. Gradually, however, there has been a move away from Britain, whether it be in nursing, law or education, towards America. This trend has occurred as we become a Pacific nation, rather than part of the Northern world. We are developing a national character with a Pacific orientation. The realisation that we are borrowing ideas from the minority ethnic groups and from the other cultures round the Pacific rather than from Europe is a significant finding of the conference.

Listening to Kathie Irwin with her enthusiasm for change, I realised that change in New Zealand education has been brought about not only by the implementation of research-based theories but by the actions of individuals with ideas and vision; by such educational pathfinders as James Shelley, Sylvia Ashton-Warner, Marie Clay and C. E. Beeby. I am delighted to leave this conference with the visions of a number of speakers whose names should be added to the list of pathfinders in New Zealand education. Educational exchange will continue to be a major source of change in New Zealand education.

List of Participants

Don BROWN, BA (Hons) Dip Tchg Ass B PsS Ass NZPsS
Director, Special Education in the Department of Education. Received a Fulbright award in 1984.

Adrienne BURLEIGH, BEd Dip Tchg Adv Dip Tchg
The Assistant Director - Training Development with the Vocational Training Council. Adrienne is an expert in the field of training needs analysis and the development of competency based programmes. Adrienne received a Fulbright award in 1985 and the McKenzie Foundation Grant in 1981.

Vince CATHERWOOD, MA Dip Ed Dip Tchg
Liaison Assistant to the Principal Educational Consultant of the Department of Education; Assistant Director, Curriculum Development Division. Received a Fulbright award in 1984.

Judith CHRISTENSEN, R Comp N BA MSE (App) PhD
Head of the School of Nursing and Health Education at Wellington Polytechnic. Received a Fulbright award in 1977.

Lily WONG FILLMORE, BA PhD
Associate Professor, Graduate School of Education, Language and Literacy Division, University of California at Berkeley. Professor Fillmore has had a long involvement in higher education, with a particular interest in linguistics and cultural issues in education for multiethnic societies. She has worked extensively as a consultant and language development specialist, for both formal and non-formal programmes, in the United States. In addition she has worked with bilingual children's television projects. In 1968 she was awarded the Edna Reiss Award for 'Outstanding Service to Children in California'. She is presently on the TOEFL Research Committee, Educational Testing Service, and National Advisory Panel, Linguistic Minority Student Project, Council of State School Officers.
She has written numerous contributions on second language learning and is about to have two books on the subject published (*Learning a Second Language in School* and *English Through Content Instruction*).

Maurice GIANOTTI, BA Dip Ed Dip Tchg MPP
The Deputy General Manager, Parliamentary Service following a career in the education service. His most recent position in education was as Chief Executive Officer of the Taskforce to Review Education Administration. He received a Fulbright award in 1987.

Ted GLYNN, MA PhD FNZPsS
Professor of Education, University of Otago. Following experience as a primary teacher and completing his Ph.D in Toronto in 1969, he researched and published extensively in educational psychology and applied behaviour analysis in education.

Connie HALL, QSO MSc FMEAA
One of the first Fulbrighters. Went to study museum education services at the American Museum of Natural History in 1949. A life member of the Museum Education Association of New Zealand and author of *Grandma's Attic or Aladdin's Cave: Museum Education Services for Children* (NZCER).

Christine HILTON-JONES, MA (Hons) Dip Tchg
District Speech Language Therapist, Auckland and Acting-Inspector, Special Education. Received a Fulbright award in 1983.

Kathie IRWIN, B Ed (Hons) MEd
A lecturer in Race Relations and Education at Victoria University of Wellington. Tribal affiliation Ngati Kahungungu and Ngati Porou.

Jocelyn KEITH, CBE RGOn BA (Hons)
Lecturer in Community Health, Wellington School of Medicine and District Nurse, Community Health Services, Wellington Hospital Board.

Kenneth KEITH, LlM LlM
Deputy President, Law Commission and Professor of Law, Victoria University of Wellington. Member, Law Faculty, Victoria University 1962-64, United Nations Secretariat, New York 1968-70; Department of External Affairs, 1960-62. Sir Kenneth received a Fulbright award in 1964.

Ann Marie KEPPEL, PhD
Professor of Education and Director of Women's Studies Program, University of Hawaii at Manoa. Professor Keppel has been with the University of Hawaii since

1965, becoming Full Professor in the Department of Educational Foundations in 1969. Since 1986 she has been involved with the Women's Studies Program, becoming the Director of this program in 1987.

She has published extensively on the history of education and on women in higher education. Courses she teaches include: History of the Education of American Women; Women and Work; Philosophy of Education; and seminars on Recent US Educational History and Educational Utopias.

Colin KNIGHT, MA (Hons) EdD Dip Ed Dip Tchg FRGS
Principal of Christchurch Teachers College. Formerly a geography teacher, school inspector and Regional Superintendent of Education (South Island).

Geoff LEALAND, PhD
Research Officer with NZCER. His paper is extracted from his book *A Foreign Egg in our Nest? American Popular Culture in New Zealand* (Victoria University Press). He received a Fulbright award for 1985-86 (Research Fellow, Stout Research Centre, Victoria University of Wellington).

Merian LITCHFIELD, BA RGON Dip N (SANS)
Lecturer in Clinical Nursing, Department of Nursing Studies, Victoria University of Wellington. Has been involved in developing new programmes in nursing education at post-basic level. She was recently awarded an International Council of Nurses/3M Fellowship and a British Commonwealth Nurses War Memorial Fund for graduate study at the University of Minnesota. Commencing September 1988.

Geraldine McDONALD, MA PhD
Assistant Director, NZCER and a member of the Board of the New Zealand - United States Educational Foundation. She held a Fulbright award in 1981 and went to Teachers College, Columbia University.

Marcy Farden McLAY, BA JD
Chair of the New Zealand - United States Educational Foundation. She has trained as a lawyer in both the United States and New Zealand.

James MACK, AMA FMANZ
Director, Dowse Art Museum and will be taking up the position of Assistant Director, National Museum of New Zealand. James Mack was Senior Researcher-

Visiting Research Associate, East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii 1974-79. He received a Fulbright award in 1987.

Sue MIDDLETON, PhD
Senior Lecturer in the Education Department, University of Waikato. She teaches courses in the sociology of women's education, multicultural issues in education and feminist theory/methodology.

Logan MOSS, BA Dip Ed PGDA
Lecturer in Education at the University of Waikato. President of the New Zealand Association for Research in Education.

Brian PAULING, MA (Hons) BCom Dip Tchg
Head, Media Studies Centre, Christchurch Polytechnic. He received a Fulbright award in 1986.

Merimeri PENFOLD, BA
Was lecturer in Maori at Auckland University and a primary school teacher. Member of the Board of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research and the new Broadcasting Commission. Tribal affiliation Te Aupouri.

David PHILIPS, MA MA (Hons) Dip T Coll
Research Officer with NZCER and co-ordinates research on writing. He received a Fulbright award in 1987 as a Senior Research Scholar, and lectured at Carnegie Mellon University (Pittsburgh) on ethnographic research methods.

Ruie PRITCHARD, PhD
Co-ordinator, English Education, North Carolina State University, Raleigh, North Carolina, USA. She is also Co-ordinator of Capital Area Writing Project, NCSU. She received a Fulbright award in 1988 as a Senior Researcher/Lecturer with the New Zealand Writing Project, Department of Education.

Bill RENWICK, CBE Hon D Lit (Deak) MA
Senior Research Fellow, Stout Research Centre for the Study of New Zealand Society, History and Culture. Dr Renwick was formerly Director-General of Education (1975-87) and Chairperson, National Commission for UNESCO. Dr Renwick received a Fulbright award in 1986 and a State Department Visitors award in 1973.

Jane RITCHIE, MA PhD FNZPsS
Associate Professor of Psychology and Director, Centre for Women's Studies, University of Waikato. Jane received a Fulbright award in 1983.

Helen STEVENS, MA (Applied) Dip Ed Studies Dip Tchg
A psychologist with the Department of Education, Wellington. Over the years she has developed a special interest in the provision of early intervention services for the parents of infants/young children who are developmentally delayed. She studied early intervention programmes in the United States in March-April 1987.

Lottie THOMSON, MA (Hons) Dip Ed Stud Dip Tchg
Education Officer, Special Education in the Department of Education.

Ray THORBURN, Dip FA (Hons) MA PhD Dip Tchg
Acting Senior Education Officer, Continuing Education (Curriculum) in the Department of Education. Involved in art education. Received a Fulbright award in 1973.

William J. (Bill) TRAMPOSCH, AB (Phi Beta Kappa) MA EdD
Director, Interpretive Education and Special Program Officer. He has held two Fulbright awards to New Zealand, 1986 and 1988. He has worked with colleagues in the art galleries and museums of New Zealand. He was one of two Americans to travel to the Soviet Union on the first of a series of exchanges with Soviet museum colleagues. He will leave Colonial Williamsburg in 1989 to become Executive Director of the Oregon Historical Society, Portland, Oregon.

George WEBBY, MA
Formerly Director of the New Zealand Drama School. He is now retired. He received a Fulbright cultural grant in 1980.

John YALDWYN, MSC PhD SMANZ
Director of National Museum of New Zealand. A marine biologist by training. Received a Fulbright award in 1960, and attended the University of Southern California.

The papers in this volume are the first serious examination of the impact of American ideas on New Zealand's educational policy, practice and thinking. Themes covered include American influences on literacy, special education, legal education, nursing studies, bilingual education, the media and the arts, both from contemporary and historical perspectives. The contributions provide a comprehensive and informative record, sometimes scholarly, sometimes personal, and illuminate the diverse ways in which New Zealand educators have absorbed American approaches towards educational matters.

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